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ABSTRACT

To show how a central idea shapes a monolithic society, this social studies unit focuses on the idea of God's "providence" as the motivational force in Puritan thinking and analyzes the idea's sources, its truth, its impact, and its evolution through three generations of Puritan living. Sections of the unit discuss (1) the religious, economic, and political uses that the first generation of Puritans made of the idea of God's providence, (2) the jeremiads that the second generation of Puritans heard from the pulpit and their responses to these warnings, and (3) the ways that the third generation justified the Salem witch trials which contributed to the modification of the idea of God's providence. Included are excerpts from Salem court records, from 17th century religious tracts and sermons, and from the writings of men who shaped Puritan thinking--such as John Winthrop, Increase and Cotton Mather, Samuel Sewall, and John Danforth. /Not available in hard copy due to marginal legibility of original document./ (Author/JB)

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TEACHER'S MANUAL

GOD'S PROVIDENCE IN PURITAN NEW ENGLAND:

AN INQUIRY INTO THE NATURE OF IDEAS

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NOTE TO THE PUBLIC DOMAIN EDITION

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The units have been used experimentally in selected schools throughout the country, in a wide range of teaching/learning situations. The results of those experiments will be incorporated in the Final Report of the Project on Cooperative Research grant H-168, which will be distributed through ERIC.

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This unit was initially prepared in the summer of 1965

The purpose of this unit is twofold. First, the student will discover that an idea changes over a period of years. Second, he will discover some of the reasons why that idea changed. In this unit the student will focus his attention on one idea, that of God's providence. The idea of God's providence stems from the Calvinist preoccupation with the omnipotence of God; God acts in affairs of men, and everything happening in the world, therefore, ahppens because of God's intention. It is this idea of God's providence which the student will follow in Puritan New England from the early to the latter part of the 17th century. And it is the change in this idea of God's providence that the student will have to account for on the basis of evidence presented to him in the unit.

This unit is conceived of as an exercise in the history of ideas. It is a truism which bears repeating that most societies have had an idea or set of ideas which, at one and the same time, provide a source of identity and purpose for the society as a whole and give a transcendent and apparently enduring focus and meaning to the lives of the individuals which make up the society. Ideas of this type are encountered by the historian in every age and in every clime. For example, the ideas may be those of democracy or divine right monarchy, monasticism or civil rights action groups, free enterprise or communism, rationalism or idealism, love of neighbor or devotion to master race.

In his attempt to make some sense out of the myriad data which make up the adventure of mankind, the serious student of intellectual history must undertake several tasks, albeit hesitatingly and tentatively. First, he must identify the idea or ideas held in common by the society and attempt to understand the nature and implications of those ideas. He must then try to determine the degree to which the idea has modified the society which holds it and also, the reverse--namely to determine how much the idea itself has undergone modification as that society changes year by year.

This unit introduces the student to the excitement and real sense of discovery which he can experience as an historian of ideas.

The first section presents evidence suggesting that the Puritans placed great importance on the idea of God's providence, that the concept was complex, and that the concept was compatible with the necessity of survival in early New England.

In Section II the students will discover that the idea of God's providence, which at first glance seemed trivial and trifling, was not only important to the Puritans in early New England but was indeed central to all facets of Puritan life and thought.

Section III presents documents from which the student must make a series of inferences. In Part A, the students will detect that in the second half of the 17th century the Puritans themselves felt that something was wrong with their society, and in Part B they will see the rather futile attempts which the Puritans made to remedy the situation by using the rhetoric of God's providence. The contrast with Sections I and II are apparent. The student will then in Part C encounter a series of selections from which he must make some inferences about what in fact was going on in New England. At this point the student will begin to perceive that changing historical circumstances have forced a modification of the idea of God's providence.

In Section IV the student is introduced to some of the consequences of the change. He will discover that men are talking about religion, economics, and politics in a substantially different way after 1670 than they were before this date. At this point the student will be asked to draw some conclusions about the nature and impact of the change in the idea of God's providence.

Section V tests the validity of the student's conclusions about the fact, nature, and consequences of the modification of the idea of God's providence. In this section documents pertaining to the witchcraft trials of 1692 are presented. The student will be tempted to revise his conclusions about the change of the idea on the basis of evidence which appears to be of exactly the same type as that which he read in Sections I and II. "Perhaps," he will think, "the idea of God's providence has not changed at all!" As the section progresses, however, the student will discover that the witch trials do not represent the epitome and fulfillment of the idea of God's providence as believed in and lived by in the early part of the century. Instead the student will realize that the trials, in fact, represent positive evidence that the idea has changed, and has changed radically. The witch trials, therefore, are finally seen as the "death rattle" and not the full maturity of the idea of God's providence, substantiating the discoveries which the student has made during the course of his study.

INTRODUCTION

The four selections in the introduction are intended to place this unit in perspective. They raise several important questions about the sources, nature, and truth of ideas. After he has read and discussed the selections in the introduction, the student should be eager to investigate the interrelationship between an idea and the society which holds that idea.

Discussion of the selections in the introduction might be facilitated by questions such as these: Where does a society get the ideas by which it lives--the ideas of democracy, for example? Are ideas such as those expressed in the Declaration inherently true and therefore true for all times and places, or do ideas become true as they are tested by practical application, as suggested by James? What seems to be the relationship between the idea of democracy and American society, as suggested by Ekirch? Is this relationship a necessary one as Cox would suggest? Does a society need a central idea in order to exist? Why? If democracy is in danger of becoming a secular religion in America (Ekirch) what has happened to Cox's idea that all value systems are conditioned by their history? Aren't some Americans in the 20th century making claims for democracy as an enduring and true idea?

Final answers to these questions, of course, can never be formulated. To be most effective the discussion should be left with most of these questions obviously unanswered. In that way, the student may want to pursue the subject and will have the occasion to do so when he begins study of the unit itself.

SECTION I

FIRST GENERATION

Part A - The documents in Section I immediately identify the idea being examined as that of God's providence. From a study of the documents in Part A will also come the realization that the idea of God's providence was applied to all sorts of people in all types of situations.

A preliminary question might be: What do you see in common among the documents in Part A? From the answers to this question, several possible avenues of inquiry and discussion are possible. If the students are struck with the "miraculous" and "supernatural" elements inherent in the selections or want to know if the people really believed in miracles, etc., it might be profitable to explore the general medieval or pre-scientific type of mentality characteristic of the Puritans in America and of their European predecessors. If students seem inclined to categorize the documents as a result of the original question, then such categories as the following should turn up: acts of providence which save or reward individuals (documents, 1-2, 4, 6-8); acts of providence which punish the wicked (documents 9-13);

the direct action of God's providence on one individual according to his own report (#15); acts of providence relating to groups (#17-19); acts of providence seen in the works of nature (3, 5, 9, 13, 16-17). The students should also begin to be aware of the dates of the various documents since the whole concept of change in the idea of God's providence necessitates the comparison of documents which were written by the first generation (1630-1660) with those written by a later generation after 1660. Although the actual process of comparison will take place in Section III, at this point the student needs to know that he is dealing with first generation material.

Documents 2, 7, 9, 10 and 14 through 19 are illustrations of the cause-effect which the Puritans felt providence to follow. The punishment regularly fits the crime, and in cases of reward or salvation, the worthiness of the recipient is taken into account. Thus, for example, the salvation of Reverend Skelton's maid in #2, or the mention of the fact that Jacob Eliot was a deacon in the Boston church (#6). It is particularly interesting to note the way in which Winthrop (in #17) specifies Rhode Island as one place where the caterpillars did most harm! Also in this document, as well as #6, the idea of fasting or praying as a remedy for adversities is introduced. This will be discussed in some detail in III, B, but might be noted now since it fits so nicely into the cause-effect framework: If God punishes us, we must be doing something wrong, so we will hold a fast, and God will look on us with favor again.

After the students have read and discussed Part A, it might be salutary for them to be asked to make some tentative generalizations about the nature and role of God's providence in the life of the American Puritans. Perceptive students will note, but perhaps not be able to articulate without your help, the idea of the Puritans as God's chosen people and the sense of divine mission, which are implicit in these documents. Teachers who are interested in historiography might, at this point or later in the unit, want to entertain a discussion of the uses of diaries etc. as evidence, or of the availability of sources and their reliability before 1700.

Part B includes two documents which clearly illustrate the emphasis on survival which was necessarily the major part of early Puritan existance. In addition the student will discover the relevance of the idea of God's providence to this struggle. He will also note in Prince and Clap the heightened awareness of the Puritan's conviction that they were a chosen people with a divine mission. It was at this point in American Puritan history that the idea and the society were most closely united.

An interesting discussion could develop at this juncture on the uniqueness of our colonial experience involving the settlement of a vast and untamed wilderness and the establishment of a civilization in a brand new country which had no laws, traditions, established institutions, roads, houses, rights, food supplies, cleared land, etc. In addition it might prove useful to discuss the potential impact which such an experience might have on our present civilization in America.

SECTION II

USES OF AN IDEA

This section will suggest to the student that the idea of God's providence extended beyond the function of explaining the supernatural (Section I, A) and was more than a religious tool with which to cope with the immediate problems of survival (I, B). In this section the student will discover that the Puritans took the idea of God's providence most seriously, that the idea permeated and was at the very core of not only the religious, but also of the economic and political life and thought of the Puritan community from 1630 to 1660.

In addition to his discovery of the seriousness with which the idea of God's providence was taken, the student will expand his understanding of the nature and implications of the idea *per se* (especially in II, A). He will see that the idea of providence, which might seem to be essentially a religious matter, in fact was an important component and guiding principle of the economic and political life and thought of the Puritan community as well (II, B and C). The student will also acquire a "feel" for the structure of early Puritan thought patterns, which will in turn imply some of the intellectual consequences of the community's attempt to live by the laws of God. Finally, in order for the student to detect and evaluate the change which occurs in the idea of God's providence *after* 1660 (Section IV), he will have to have clearly in his mind the characteristics of the idea and the role it played from 1630-1660. This completes the establishment of the "norm" begun in Section I.

Part A - Part A contains extracts from serious religious tracts and sermons written by the Puritans of the first generation. Selections 1-4 are intended to portray the intellectual frame of reference and the thought about God's providence which the American Puritans brought with them from England. Selections

5-6 deal with the Puritan's efforts to explain the correct response of a man of faith to adverse circumstances. And selections 7-8, from the second generation, demonstrate graphically what happens when the idea of God's providence is carried out to its logical conclusion by a minister who was raised and educated in the first generation and then tried dogmatically and unswervingly to make the idea of God's providence fit into the life and thought patterns of the second generation.

The first selection presents a finely wrought argument which distinguishes between general and special providence (the distinction was made in Section I, A [#7-9, 14]). The idea of the Puritans as God's chosen people is implicit in this document. The distinction between chance and mere chance (#2) is both informative and entertaining. Note the way in which the logic of the argument simply falls apart in the last two sentences. Why does Perkins feel compelled to make the distinction to begin with? What is at stake for him and for the Puritans generally? Selection #3 will allow the student to see more about how the cause-effect relationship of God's providence was thought to have operated. This particular discussion centers on what the Puritan is to do in cases where he is the victim of adverse circumstances. Document #4 is a sermon which emphasizes once more the "Chosenness" of the Puritans and assures them (in terms of cause and effect) of their success if God's laws are obeyed in the new land. Cotton's fifth point is very important, for here he anticipates a problem which the Puritans in fact do face in the second generation. The second generation does degenerate and lose its zeal for matters of religion (Section III). When adversities befall the second generation of American Puritans, they are equipped with a ready-made analysis of the problem: we are being "plucked up" therefore we must have allowed our children to degenerate! This argument from effect to cause will be explored in depth in Section III, A and B, but the "cause to effect, and effect to cause" possibility might be generally surveyed here. In addition, the relationship with the Indians, which in practice was ambiguous at best, might also be discussed in terms of problems, practical and moral, of trying to impose a "superior" civilization or way of life on an "inferior" or "child-like" race. Imperialism in the 19th century and/or America's self-defined role as a protector of the "free world" might be worthwhile paths for this discussion to take.

Documents 5-6 illustrate the way which the Puritan felt that adversities should be dealt with. It is interesting to ask here why Cotton wrote about adversities at all? The student should pick up, from his understanding of cause-effect and *vice versa*, that afflictions denote punishments, and that something was happening to the Puritans at the time these two documents were written which made a discussion of adversities necessary.

In 1641, new settlers had stopped coming to Massachusetts because of the situation in England as of 1640. Prices were up because of shortages of supplies, financial support from abroad was down, and there was a real uneasiness in Massachusetts about the effects of the revolution in England on the Massachusetts Charter, which guaranteed, among other things, land titles, the established church, the governmental structure, and the colonial laws. In 1654, information reached Massachusetts that the Dutch were stirring up the Indians against the English settlers in New England. It is very important to see that the formula (last two paragraphs of #6) for determining "what God is doing" is in itself a departure from the spontaneity and naivete with which the settlers in 1630 received and understood God's providential activity. It is interesting to speculate on why such a formula was necessary. Perhaps the people or conditions in New England, or both, had changed since 1630.

Selections 7-8 were written in 1684 and are thus of the second generation, but in terms of values, ideas, and outlook Increse Mather was a man of the first generation. The student should pick up the second generation date and should want to know why the selections were included here. The purpose of both documents is to show the logical consequences of the development of the idea of God's providence as understood by the first generation. In document #7, Mather extends God's providence to include everything, literally everything, that happens in the world. In #8 he uses the cause-effect sequence to account for new diseases and for the manner in which the punishment fits the offense. Although these concepts are by no means new, they do represent the extreme to which first generation thinking had to go to keep God in the picture in the second generation. It might be worthwhile to discuss this phenomenon as a characteristic of men and societies in history. For example, there always seem to be men in every society who, raised and educated according to the beliefs and values of the old generation, continue to press these beliefs on the new generation. In so doing they not only carry their beliefs and values to an extreme but in the eyes of the second generation, appear to be irrelevant and out of touch with reality.

Finally, selection #8 hints at some of the problems which the student will encounter in his study of Section III, A-B: the increase in the lives of the second generation of "Creature-comforts," of unruly children and indulgent parents, of inventors of evil rather than merely doers of evil, and the advent of strange diseases and other afflictions.

Part B - This part of Section II will present the idea of God's providence as it appears in Puritan writings on economics.

The student will discover that Puritans of the first generation were clearly hostile to those who sought after riches. And yet some explanation had to be made for the success of those who were, as profit-taking became possible in Massachusetts in the post-survival period, making a good bit of money. The dilemma for the Puritan was how to be diligent and to reap the rewards of diligence without, at the same time, being interested in the reward!

Winthrop (#1) emphasizes the fact that it is God's providence which orders the rich and poor in their several estates. Because it was God who did the ordering, men had to be content with their economic status. (Winthrop happened to be wealthy.) It was not a man's own doing which made him rich or poor. The glory belonged to God who gave wealth to some for the common good. This latter fact was important for the very existence or survival of the Puritan community in the earliest years, and yet, if the community followed Winthrop's advice to the letter, what kind of economic situation would result? Could a community operate economically within the context of a divine mandate which virtually prohibited economic mobility?

Perkins (#2) expands the idea of God's providence as the determinant of economic position by introducing the term "calling". Not only must men not seek after riches (because covetousness is at the root of so many other sins), but they must be satisfied with the calling or vocation which they have been given by God. To establish one difference of values between the 16th and 17th centuries and our own, this question might be raised: Do you detect any hierarchy of vocations in America today? If so, what determines the rank in the hierarchy? In this selection we also see that Perkins has opened up the possibility of a man having riches, but they must be considered as God's gift.

Just because a man is wealthy, however, does not mean that he has been blessed with those riches by God, for God may be punishing him in some way. This break-down, slight as it may be, in the inexorable logic of cause and effect, should suggest to the student that Perkins is accounting in advance for the possibility of a wealthy sinner, a possibility which becomes a reality in the second generation of Puritan New England.

Selection #3 is intended to reinforce the two previous documents on the idea of satisfaction with one's estate. There is, however, a subtle shift in Preston's argument about wealth. In the last paragraph he opens the door to the possibility of becoming rich--although it is still God who is ultimately responsible for this fortuitous change of estate. God will reward the diligent man and diligence, thereby, becomes a virtue. We are now on the very edge of the paradox which Cotton raises in #4.

Cotton defines the paradox in his opening sentence which reflects very accurately what has happened to the idea of God's providence in New England by 1651. In matters of economics, at least, the idea has had to accomodate itself to the reality of a society which is increasingly involved in making money through trading, manufacturing, etc. Imagine how outlandish Winthrop's statement (#1) would seem to a merchant whose primary task in 1651 was making money. In order to stay relevant, the idea had to be changed. Conversely, the changed idea had an enormous impact on the Puritan society. For now, roughtly 1650, diligence and hard work brought a divine reward and a tangible one at that. It is not hard to see how Puritan thinking in the second generation (Section IV) became increasingly more worldly but did so still within the context of the idea of God's providence.

Part C - This part of Section II will invite the student to consider the role of the idea of God's providence in first generation Puritan political thought. Implicit in the documents is a political philosophy which contains many strands of thought similar to those which are encountered in the Revolutionary and Constitutional periods in American history. See if the student can make the connection.

Winthrop (#1) understands the Puritan community to be self-contained and bound together because of its covenant with God and because of the love of the members of his church one for another. It is God's providence along with the mutual consent of the members of the community and the approval of the church which is the basis for the government. One might want to discuss here the problems and advantages inherent in a theocracy, or in a government in which church and state are combined. Winthrop explicitly refers to the Puritan community's sense of divine mission and expounds again the conviction of God's promise (II, A, 4) and of the cause-effect relationship which exists between obedience and blessing, or disobedience and withdrawal of divine support. Finally, a worthwhile discussion might result from this sort of question: In any society is it right to consider the good of the whole society over the good of any individual in that society? The student should then consider what set of values made him answer the question as he did.

The second selection (Winthrop) might be best analyzed by raising such questions as: Why does Winthrop need to write on the nature and necessity of obedience to civil authority? From your consideration of the organization of the government in Massachusetts (#1) what might you suspect is going on in 1645? To what extent is Winthrop's thinking on the relation of the government and God conditioned by his English background under a "divine-right" king. It is important, finally, for the student to grapple with Winthrop's idea of civil liberty.

Selection #3 limits considerably the role of the idea of God's providence in government. Notice, for example, that God is brought into the discussion only by analogy, and that sovereignty or authority rests finally in the hands of the people. Again, a question might be raised as to what is going on in Massachusetts that would necessitate this kind of discussion. Moreover, the whole issue of the locus of sovereignty in a political body might be explored.

Selection #4 reinstates God into the political picture. If good rulers are chosen, it signifies that God is going to bless the country, since it is God who gives the rulers to the country. Cause and effect are evident in this discussion: the choice of a bad ruler puts the people in jeopardy; for God will punish the people for the sins of the ruler! The ruler, moreover, whether good or bad, must be obeyed. It is interesting that this sermon was preached at the very time when the church and state, which had been combined so neatly in 1630, were struggling to determine whether the final say in Massachusetts would be had by civil or ecclesiastical authorities. Moreover, the dictum to obey even the bad ruler virtually precluded any possibility of political revolution. One might raise the question: When, if ever, do the people have the right to overthrow a bad government?

In order to prepare for Section III, the students should be asked to make some summary statements, at this point, about the nature and role of the idea of God's providence in first generation Puritan New England. This might be best achieved by asking: How would you define the idea of God's providence in light of its use by Puritans of the first generation? Or, to what degree and in what specific ways was God's providence central to the thought and life of the first generation of American Puritans?

SECTION III

SECOND GENERATION

Section III will first ask the student to detect that there was a change in the idea of God's providence after about 1660 and then to account for that change on the basis of a comparison of evidence pertaining to the first and second generations. In Part A, the student will read several jeremiads (a recital of afflictions and problems) and discover therein that the ministers in New England felt that something was wrong. In addition, the student will be asked to ascertain, as best he can, just what it was that the ministers thought was wrong. In Part B, a series of responses to the jeremiads will be presented. From these selections, the student will learn how the Puritans planned to cope with their problems. Both the problems and solutions are framed in terms of the old rhetoric of God's providence. In Part C, the student will have the opportunity of determining for himself what in fact was going on in New England. He will measure his conclusions about Parts A and B against the conclusions which he will draw as a result of comparing first and second generation documents. A discrepancy will be seen between what the ministers felt and what in fact was wrong. The idea of God's providence no longer seemed to account for the problems or hold the allegiance of a maturing society. As the historical circumstances in Massachusetts changed the idea of God's providence changed, but not fast or radically enough to continue to be relevant to the needs and problems of most of the people. The idea did not die; it merely assumed a place of secondary importance in the lives of the majority of the people. Meanwhile, the proponents of the idea continued to see all of the colony's problems and the solutions to those problems in terms of God's providence. Idea and reality were separating slowly but surely. As shown in Section Iv, it would not be long before men could discuss economics and politics and relegate the idea of God's providence to a position of secondary importance or use it at will for their own convenience.

Part A - Richard Mather (#1) poses the problem as arising from too great a concern with business. As a result, religion has become a hollow shell, an external form only. He pleads, in a defensive and pathetic fashion, that men's callings (which were for the first generation "religious" by definition--cf., II, B, 2) be made into acts of religion and obedience. It might be asked: Is it only because of business that religion has turned into an external form? What is going on in a society when men go through the motions of religion but do not live with religion at the center of their lives? Is there something, perhaps, in the logic of the religion itself which is causing the problem, or does the problem lie in the relation of the idea to the society which professes this idea?

Document #2 invites the question: What is Higginson really trying to say? Implicit in his comments is the feeling that some people must have thought that worldly wealth was the reason for the settlement of Massachusetts. The situation in New England is clearly hinted at in his descriptions of how God has blessed his poor people here. It is important to see that Higginson, in defensiveness injects God into the bounty of New England. It is as if Higginson is trying to make a place for God, a place not unlike that which the writers in II, B would have spontaneously afforded him.

Oakes (#3) apparently feels that it is necessary to speak the language of the merchants in order to make himself understood, and this indicates something about what is going on in New England. That the ministers are still trying to frame the problems in terms of the first generation is seen by the wishful remembrances of the things of old. From this list the students should infer that in Massachusetts in 1673 there is a loss of zeal, no longing for the Sabbath, etc. The loss of zeal for an idea is an important consideration in the understanding of the relationship between an idea and a society. At the end of Part A, therefore, questions should be raised as to why zeal and enthusiasm for an idea decline as years pass. In other words, will an idea deteriorate "naturally" as it is passed on from generation to generation? Where, if at all, do historical circumstances figure in the picture?

Selection #4 (Mather) is a complete listing of the evils which have befallen New England (heresy, natural disasters, disease, Indian attacks, etc.). Since the ministers were desirous of stopping those evils, they convened a Synod at Boston in 1679 to consider the sins of the people which might be provoking God's wrath. The sins, then, were to be countered with appropriate remedies, and the evils would stop. The student should discover several things as he studies this selection. First, that the process of arguing from cause to effect and from effect to cause is still operative. Second, the nature of the sins which have provoked the evils should be examined most closely. What kind of a society must exist in order for the sins in that list to be committed? Would the sins listed here have been committed at all, much less in such volume, in the first generation? A maturing, economically oriented, society with leisure time, significant accomplishments is suggested. This idea of a society "on the make" will be developed more fully in Part C. With the change in society, as indicated by the documents in Part A, what would you suggest might be the status and content of the idea of God's providence? Would the idea have as central a place in the second generation as it did in the first? These questions should be explored here, but left open since there is further evidence to be considered.

Part B - Among other remedies for the sins of the second generation, two of the most popular and effective seemed to be the observing of fast days and the regulation of behavior by laws. The former had been a practice in Puritan New England from the beginning, but the latter was not as necessary at first since the Puritans attended to their moral life ina spontaneous manner and were preoccupied with more pressing concerns. The seriousness of the condition in Massachusetts in the second generation can be seen by a comparison of documents #1, 2, and 3. For example, their relative lengths, as one moves from 1639 to 1661 to 1675 (the year of King Phillip's War) is indicative of the increasing gap which was opening between the idea and the society. The society was changing, but the idea was not keeping pace. In Part A, it was seen that the list of provoking evils and necessary remedies was drawn up by a church synod. That was to be expected. In Part B (#3), however, a similar list of evils and remedies was promulgated by the Court as law! While in #1 and 2 a fast day was deemed to be a sufficient remedy for the sins of the people, #3 provides remedies such as fines, whippings, and terms in the house of correction. The seriousness of the offense in the opinion of the court can be determined by the severity of the penalty. Thus the heavy fine for being at a Quaker meeting. It would be interesting to ask what it was about Quakerism that threatened the society in Massachusetts? And the larger question, namely, what is going on in a society which feels it necessary to keep itself religiously homogeneous by stringent legal means?

Document #4 (Thacher) gives the student additional clues as to the apparent division which he has seen developing between the idea and the society. Up to 1674 there had been over 40 fast days. Why then does Thacher have to preach on the nature of a fast? Implicit in the document is the information that in the second generation fasting has evidently merely become a physical process devoid of spiritual meaning. There is a profession of humility from the lips, but not from the hearts. What has caused this? Thacher says that fasts don't seem to be working. Sins are increasing and God in consequence increases his punishments. Are the sins, contained in the great lists, caused by weaknesses or perversions which fast days can cure? If so, why are there legal punishments as well as spiritual admonitions? It is interesting to compare the two long lists of sins (III, A, 4 and III, B, 3) with the examples of God's judgment from the first generation (I, A, 9-14, 16, 17-19). The simplicity, straightforwardness, and rather natural usage of the cause-effect formula of God's providence seem to be less and less a part of the second generation's way of thinking. Could one suggest that the idea of God's providence no longer fits the way of life of the second generation? Consequently, the harder the ministers try to impose the idea of providence on the society, the more the society turns away from a genuine devotion to the idea. The society is caught up in a tide of changing circumstances of which it is not really aware. Outward signs (God's judgments and the lists of sins) indicate to the ministers that all is not right with New England. The jeremiads, which might have been effective if delivered to a first generation audience (which of course wouldn't have needed them), simply fall on unknowingly deaf ears in the second generation.

Part C - If historical circumstances did change this radically, the student should then inquire into the nature and extent of the change. Part C presents a large number of selections relating to conditions of life both of the first generation and of the second generation. In comparing and contrasting the two generations, the student should be able to infer a great deal about the nature and the extent of the change in society, and its possible implications for the idea of God's providence in the second generation (IV). In other words, the student is asked to account for the cleavage which seems to be increasing between the Puritan society as it matures and the idea of God's providence which had been so central in the first generation. If the idea does not fit society any more, what has happened? To the idea? To society?

The documents in Part C are arranged chronologically. Number 1-9 pertain to the first generation, and #10-22 to the second generation. In addition, the documents in Section I, A and B amy be used to supplement the first generation documents. These documents could be used as follows. Have the student read all of the selections in one sitting and then ask such a question as this: On the basis of what you have read, do there seem to be any differences between the selections relating to the first generation and to those of the second? Using specific documents as supporting evidence, the student should be able to articulate some of the differences and then, on the basis of the evidence, draw some tentative conclusions as to the changes in Puritan society and the impact these changes might bring to bear to have on the idea of God's providence. The differences between the documents representing the first and second generations can be handled most effectively in class discussion, but the student's tentative conclusions might be assigned as a short paper.

The teacher who prefers a more systematic approach to series of documents might find the following method of approach helpful. After the student has read all of the documents in Part C and has reviewed those in the first section, he could be asked to arrange the documents in meaningful categories which point up the differences between the first and second generations. Some possible categories which the documents will support are: descriptions of Boston (9, 10, 15); aims of the early founders as contrasted with the realities of the second generation (1, 3, 15, 19); the militia, necessity of defense, and availability of gun powder (2, 22); the sale of liquor (4, 16, 21); scarcity and abundance of food (I, B, 1-2 and III, C, 5, 17, 22); restricted travel and freedom of movement (6, 22); laying out boundary lines and evidence of a new house (7, 22); standardization of measurements and circulation of coin (8, 18); natural phenomena (I, A, 14, III, C, 11-12); ship blows up (I, A, 9 and III, C, 13, 22) and fires (I, A, 4, 7 and III, C, 14, 22). A few of the documents in Part C contain some interesting and suggestive material.

For example, #5 (corn and swine) is a vivid example of the concern of the first generation with an adequate food supply. That the court even had to make a judgment about the exportation of 10 bushels of corn is an indicator of the food problem in 1635. In addition, a constant problem in this regard was swine which got into corn fields and jeopardized the food supply and the very existence of the whole colony. This preoccupation with swine appears over and over in the Colonial Records until about the middle of the century when most of the colonists had mustered the time and energy to build fences.

Document #7 (boundaries) illustrates one of the most necessary and time consuming activities facing the first settlers in this country. All of the town lines and the boundaries of individual land-owners had to be surveyed, approved, and recorded by the Court. Document #8 (standards of weight and measure) illustrates yet another vital activity of the first generation in Massachusetts.

In selections #11-14, and 22, natural or common sense causes are used to explain fires, comets, etc. Perhaps the influence of the scientific age was beginning to be felt in New England in the latter part of the 17th century. Certainly, there was a decline in the use of the idea of God's providence to explain phenomena.

Selection #17 (loaf bread bakers) indicates that there was some specialization of labor in 1681. It is particularly significant since in the first generation, most of the bread in Massachusetts was baked at home. Specialization of labor implies a fairly sophisticated economy and a consequent need for time to be taken up by "worldly concerns," e.g., regulating the prices of wheat and determining the standards used to measure the staleness of bread. Time spent in such concerns was time that could not be spent in reading the Bible or attending church, etc. Selection #1 (coin) supports this assumption about the sophistication of the economy. At least by 1682 New England coin had even become differentiated from English coin.

With an advancing economy and a declining need to eke out one's survival day by day, a certain amount of leisure time developed. As selection #19 demonstrates, idleness also increased and became a serious enough problem to be dealt with legally by the Court. This issue of idleness is particularly interesting in light of the first generation's feelings about diligence.

In document #22, the reports of the artillery company's problems indicate that defense is no longer of prime importance in 1686. Sewall's report of the Lecture on Sept. 1 shows concern about everything except what the minister said, a phenomenon which would have never occurred in the first generation.

This attitude of nonchalance toward religious matters is born out again where Sewall enters a record of the Sabbath sermon almost as an after-thought (after the entry for Monday, Oct. 18), and nothing is said at all about the sermon. This tendency in the second generation was absolutely atypical of the first generation. Samuel Sewell had a chance to speak in terms of God's providence when the glass of wine broke, but commented instead on "Fragility and Mortality." God's providence (his judgment) could have been the "stroke" which made the deep impression on Major Brown, but instead it was the loss of three or four thousand pounds!

Regardless of the method the essential task facing the student is that of drawing tentative conclusions on the basis of the evidence which he has evaluated. These conclusions should be based on questions such as these: What do you feel are the fundamental differences between the life and thought of the first generation and that of the second generation? How would you characterize the nature of second generation Puritan society, i.e., what was going on? How do your conclusions agree with and differ from the writers of the jeremiads in Section III, A? How do you account for those similarities and differences? What further evidence would you like to have to make more accurate estimate of the tone and mood of second generation American Puritanism? On the basis of your understanding of historical conditions in the second generation, what would you anticipate might happen to the idea of God's providence? What further evidence would you like to have?

Section III, C also presents an occasion to open a most interesting discussion along these lines: Is it possible for the historian to conclude anything about a society from an examination of that society's ideas? Can you learn anything about a society from its laws? From diaries kept by members of the society? Which diaries and laws would be most reliable? What sources would you use if you were trying to discover what America was like in the 1950's? How would you go about ascertaining how Americans thought about democracy or communism in the first half of this century? What would be the most difficult problems you might encounter in any of these activities?

SECTION IV

LATER THEORY

In this section the student will read selections of second generation Puritan economic and political thought. He will discover the impact which the changed society (III, C) brought to bear on the idea of God's providence. In addition he will see the modification of the idea of God's providence by some of the ministers who were still trying to keep the concept relevant to the needs.and interests of society. By comparing these documents with those in Section II, the student should be able to make some further generalizations about the nature and consequences of the change in the concept. The conclusions which the student drew at the end of Section III should be reshaped in light of the evidence presented in Section IV.

Section IV contains selections relating only to economic and political theory. In this period religious thought is largely subsumed in the prevailing economic and political ideas.

Part A - Danforth (#1) is rather typical of one type of minister in the second generation. This sermon is a jeremiad, but differs in several ways from the jeremiads read in Section III. Notice, for example, that Danforth no longer speaks in direct cause-effect terms when discussing God's punishment for "backward professing" and the evils engendered by prosperity. Instead he uses a hypothetical assertion in his warning: "If the Lord loves his people, he will deliver those weapons out of their hands. . . ." In addition, the confidence of the first generation that the Puritans were God's chosen people with a divine mission has virtually disappeared. This selection is also unusual in that prosperity is pointed to specifically as the cause of the sinful ways of the second generation. Now, however, no real remedy can be recommended except the loss of prosperity. Note that the terms "Israel" and "Prosperity" seem to be mutually exclusive categories for Danforth. Danforth, in the last sentence, recognizes the true state of New England in the second generation: Not only is it not in the power of New England to reform itself, but no one seems to be mourning about the impossibility of reformation! This is a far cry indeed from the first generation.

Selection #2 (Steele) demonstrates what has happened to the religious idea of diligence which we saw initially in II, B. Moreover, it is fairly easy to make a generalization about what has happened to the religious zeal of the first generation, that zeal the loss of which was lamented implicitly and explicitly in the jeremiads (III, A). What is the role of the idea of God's providence in Steele's writing? Of religious practice and devotion generally? What is the difference between Steele's advice to the Puritan business man and the advice given to merchants in the first generation (II, B)? How do you account for the differences? How does Steele view temporal wealth? The good life? This document suggests that the idea of God's providence is no longer believed in but is merely used to give a sort of divine sanction or imprimatur to human economic activity and the status quo.

Cotton Mather (#3) objects to gaming, drinking, idleness, etc., on far different grounds than did ministers of the first generation, or even the writers of the jeremiads in the second generation. Incentive for work no longer arises from mere survival but must be stimulated by promises of blessings: "If the Lord Jesus Christ might find thee . . . where thy Business lies, who knows, what Blessings He might bestow upon thee?" Notice the way which Mather uses the Scriptural quotation from Romans 13:8. The law, "Owe no man anything," is interpreted to fit the exegencies of a business society, again evidence of the accomodation of religious ideas to the realities of a changing society.

Whitman (#4) recommends religion to promote the welfare and happiness (i.e., prosperity) of the people. The cause-effect sequence returns in this selection, but only as a vehicle for the idea that religious nations will receive outward prosperity.

What differences has the student been able to detect between the documents in Part A and those which he read in II? How does one account for those differences? How would the student revise the conclusions which he drew at the end of Section III as to the nature of the changed Puritan society and the potential impact of this change on the idea of God's providence in light of the evidence which he has studied in this part of Section IV? What would the student anticipate might happen to the idea of God's providence in Puritan political thought of the second generation?

Part B - Documents are presented in this Part which are typical of Puritan political thought in the latter part of the second generation. Willard (#1) presents a mixture of first and second generation thinking about political matters. On the one hand, he still subscribes to the doctrine that rulers rule for the good of the people and that God's treatment of a people depends on the way in which the ruler manages the truth which God has given him. The ruler, under God, can make a people happy or miserable (cause-effect). On the other hand, in this document there are several striking departures from first generation thinking. For example, the law of nature (inroads made by early Enlightenment thinking?) is accorded a possible role in the justification for the establishment of a civil government (along with the law of God in the Old Testament). In addition, men's "freedom to serve God in their own way" is listed as one of the "Liberties and Rights" of men in a civil society. Compare this with law #4 of the General Court (III, B, 3) in which there was no freedom to attend a Quaker meeting, much less to be a Quaker. Or compare Willard's thinking to the treatment afforded Roger Williams and Anne Hutchinson by the government of Massachusetts in the 1630's. Can one tell anything about the general health of a society by the way it treats men who deviate from established norms of behavior or belief? With answers to this question in mind, a comparison of the societies of the first and second generations in Massachusetts might be illuminating.

Wise's discussion (#2) of the nature and sources of civil government bears a strong resemblance to the ideas of John Locke. For the purposes of this unit it is important that the student discover that Wise feels that although civil government may be the result of providence, it is not in any sense a divine institution. In the vernacular of cause and effect, Wise says that civil government is the effect of human compacts. It is a product of man's reason and not of the wisdom of the Infinite.

Questions which might lay this document open for discussion are: What would be the differences between the government which Wise would want to set up and that advocated by writers in the first generation (II, C)? How do you explain the differences in thinking between the two generations on political matters? Generic to this discussion is a question such as this: What doctrine of man (basically evil, basically good, rational, free, etc.) underlies Wise's statements about the source and nature of civil government? What is the doctrine of man presupposed by the first generation? How do you account for the differences and similarities?

At the end of Section IV the student should be asked to draw some final conclusions about the idea of God's providence. These conclusions should speak to the following kinds of issues: the changing nature (characteristics, components, ingredients) of the idea of God's providence during the first two generations in Puritan New England; the changing role of the idea of God's providence; the changing nature of society in New England and the impact which this change had on the idea of God's providence; and perhaps some tentative suggestions about the role of an idea in society generally.

SECTION V

PROVIDENCE AND WITCHCRAFT

Section V contains selections pertinent to the witch trials of 1692. These trials are used as a case study to determine what happened to the idea of God's providence in New England.

Part A - The first two selections by Cotton Mather include much of the type of thinking and rhetoric about the idea of God's providence which was characteristic of the first generation. On the basis on a non-critical reading of these documents, it appears that the idea of God's providence has really changed very little. A closer reading plus the documents in the remainder of the section will demonstrate that in fact this may not have been the case. The idea has changed radically.

Throughout Mather's letter (#1) to Judge Richards one feels that Mather is assuming the witches in Salem to be guilty. It is only the techniques for their detection and trial which concern him. What is the relation between God's providence and the Devil? Between the Devil and witches?

After reading selection #3 the student should realize that Mather was writing a defense of the witch trials seen both in the title of the document and in the tone of the writing. Is Mather saying in these documents what a minister in the first generation would have said? Would a minister in the first generation have ever been confronted with this particular problem or with similar problems? What distinguishes Mather's writing from the tone and content of the jeremiads? What does Mather feel has caused the problems in New England? What in fact has caused them? Has the idea of God's providence changed at all as measured against conclusions drawn at the end of Section III? Is there any difference between the workings of God's providence in punishing offenders as understood by the first generation and the activity of the Devil as understood by Mather?

Selection #3 illustrates that Mather was not alone in his thinking about either witches in general or about the causation of New England's problems. The importance of the fact that it was chief justice Stoughton who wrote this letter cannot be emphasized too strongly. It would seem that the special court, at the very least, shared Mather's presuppositions about the nature and source of witchcraft. Does this mean that the idea of God's providence had not really changed at all but had merely taken on a slightly different appearance?

Part B - Part B contains Mather's report of the trial of Elizabeth How and additional selections which cast some doubt on Mather's interpretation of what was going on. The validity of the trials themselves is also called into question.

Although the records of the trials speak for themselves, the teacher may want to assign as supplementary reading the first three chapters of The Devil in Massachusetts (Dolphin Books, Garden City, 1961) by Marion Starkey. Starkey's book is an excellent historical reconstruction of the trials and contains superb portrayals of the people involved.

Document #1 is Mather's whole report of the trial of Elizabeth How. Mather records the testimony of some ten witnesses on the basis of which Elizabeth How was convicted. The testimony was interesting in and of itself, but perhaps more significant is the testimony which Mather left out of his account. Document #2 is Samuel Parris' report of the examination of Eliza-How herself. The girls mentioned in this record were all in their teens. It was their task to point the accusing finger at a potential witch. If the girls reacted violently when the suspect was brought into their presence, the guilt of the suspect was assumed. These girls were present at the trials of the suspected witches and performed their histrionics in front of a filled court room. On the basis of their accusations, many a woman went before the court for examination with her guilt presumed by everyone present including the judges. In document #2 the presumption of guilt is clearly evident, and the important role played by the girls is obvious. The testimony of Samuel Phillips (#3) which was also part of the trial of Elizabeth How, was ommitted by Mather. Why did he omit this testimony? Is there something more at stake for him than fairness or objectivity in reporting? What?

Part C - Part C begins with a selection showing the magnitude of the trials which played a very minor role in the overall history of New England. The witches left in prison were released within a year and life fell back into its more normal patterns. One is tempted to ask why the witch mania didn't spread geographically or last longer or involve more people. The witch hunts seemed to be part and parcel of a way of thinking which had been compatible with New England life for sixty years. And the "Devil theory" seemed to be a way of pinning down, once and for all, the cause of the evils in New England. Were the trials, therefore, a resurgence of the idea of God's providence? Or were they the culmination of the idea of God's providence? Or were they neither? If not, what did they represent in fact? What was really going on?

If the witch purge represented the culmination or resurgence of the idea of God's providence, then one of the local heroes should have been the anti-witch crusader, Samuel Parris, minister of the Salem church. If he was not a "hero" the student might then infer some conclusions about the pervasiveness of belief in the "Devil theory" which was God's providence slightly modified and disguised. Parris left the Salem church in the spring of 1693 under considerable pressure from the council which he mentions at the end of his annals (#2). Both Sewall and John Hale had been avid proponents of the witch trials and of the "Devil theory." In retrospect, they speak about their roles in the trials (#3 and 4).

The request of the President and Fellows of Harvard is a very peculiar document. Written the year after the Salem witch trials, the request seems at first glance to be evidence that the idea of God's providence is still very much alive in New England. However, the tone of the document implies otherwise. So does the fact that the document had to be written at all and by so august a body as the administration of Harvard College. Would there have ever been the need for a request like this one in the first generation? In Mather's introductory statement the need for a collection of remarkable providences is explained along with a very revealing statement about the "sleepiness" of the good men in the world. Paragraphs IV and VI are very instructive. In the former we learn that credible witnesses are now necessary to attest to the verity of the works of God's providence, and in the latter a promised reward ("singular marks of respect") is evidently necessary to stimulate the ministers to comply with Harvard's request. On the basis of this document and those pertaining to the witch trials, what has happened to the idea of God's providence by 1700? What do the witch trials themselves represent in the history of the idea of God's providence? What do the jeremiads signify in the history of this idea? How have the society and the idea interacted? To what extent and in what specific ways has the idea been modified by the changes of the society in history? Has the idea of God's providence forced the Puritan society to modify itself? Is there anything inherent in the idea of God's providence which would force its change even if the society were to be relatively stable? Are there any historical instances of a society which did remain stable over several generations? What happened to the ideas held by those societies?

On the basis of your study of the history of the idea of God's providence in New England in the 17th century can you make any generalizations about the relation of a central idea to the society which holds that idea.

EXPERIMENTAL MATERIAL
SUBJECT TO REVISION

STUDENT'S MANUAL

GOD'S PROVIDENCE IN PURITAN NEW ENGLAND:
AN INQUIRY INTO THE NATURE OF IDEAS

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INTRODUCTION

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

Declaration of Independence

Imbued with a strong faith in the democratic idea, the American people for the most part have been convinced that the cure for the problems of democracy is more democracy. . . . No longer considered simply as one of several species of governments, democracy has rather become a part of almost every aspect of American life and thought. The American people therefore are dangerously close to making democracy a new kind of secular religion which they believe in more as a matter of faith than of understanding.[1]

Arthur Ekirch

Man once believed that the state was a changeless expression of divine will. Now he knows it to be a creation of man. . . . The same can be true for ethics. There is no reason that man must believe that the ethical standards he lives by came down from heaven inscribed on golden tablets. He can accept the fact that the value systems, like states and civilizations, come and go. They are conditioned by their history and claim no finality.[2]

Harvey Cox

True ideas are those that we can assimilate, validate, corroborate and verify. False ideas are those that we cannot. . . . The truth of an idea is not a stagnant property inherent in it. Truth *happens* to an idea. It *becomes* true, is *made* true by events.[3]

William James

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[1] Arthur A. Ekirch, *The American Democratic Tradition: A History* (The Macmillan Company, New York, 1963), 1-2.

[2] Harvey Cox, *The Secular City: Secularization and Urbanization in Theological Perspective* (The Macmillan Company, New York, 1965), 35.

[3] William James, *Essays in Pragmatism*, ed. by Albusey Castell (Hafner Library of Classics, Hafner Publishing Company, New York, 1948), 160.

The quotations you have just read are about ideas: about their sources, their relation to society, and their truth. Ideas have been central to the life of men since the beginning of time. The Greeks established their society around ideas of democracy and the nature of the "good life." The Egyptians lived by certain ideas about why the Nile rose and fell. The Hebrews' lives were directed by the idea that they were a chosen people. In recent times ideas about a master race, about democratic government, about capitalism and communism, about a man's rights in society have all been essential strands in the very fabric of our existence and have played a dominant role in the course of history itself. The study of the way in which societies and ideas interact is one of the tasks of the historian of ideas, the intellectual historian.

This unit concerns itself with the history of an idea. In it you are invited to become an intellectual historian as you study the interaction of one idea and the Puritan society which held it.

SECTION I

FIRST GENERATION

In the spring of 1630 eleven ships with over 800 members of "The Company of the Massachusetts Bay," 200 cows, and 50 horses aboard set from various English ports for New England. This expedition, which landed in Massachusetts Bay six to eight weeks later, was the result of the skillful takeover of an English trading company by a group of English Protestants called Puritans.

These Puritans had been voicing their disagreement with certain abuses and pro-Catholic leanings and practices within the Church of England for four decades, but unlike the Separatists (Pilgrims) who had settled in Plymouth in 1620 the Puritans were content to remain members of the Church of England and press for reform from within. Under pressure from Charles I and Bishop Laud, who were trying to rid England of ministers of Puritan persuasion, and increasingly dubious about their chances for effecting a reform in the Church of England, a group of Puritans in 1628 bought shares in a commercial trading company then being formed in London. In 1629, the company received a charter from the king, under the terms of which they were granted authority to pass laws for the colony which the company was to establish. Moving to the colony, they would therefore be afforded the opportunity of establishing without governmental and ecclesiastical opposition their own version of a "reformed" or purified Church of England.

The Puritanism which these early emigrants brought with them to New England amounted to more than a set of ideas. Indeed, Puritanism was a way of life, a value system, a world-view. The whole of Puritanism was rooted in John Calvin's brand of Protestantism which stressed the omnipotence of God and the sinfulness of man. Man accordingly had to live by God's laws which were to be found in the Bible, particularly in the Old Testament. All facets of the life and thought of the Puritans, therefore, was oriented toward obedience to God's laws, whether in family matters, economic concerns, or political dealings. It followed logically that, if you broke God's laws, he would punish you; and if you obeyed the rules you would be rewarded.

This Puritan way of life and set of values, brought to Massachusetts from England, was shaped and fashioned by the frontier environment into that peculiar and unique phenomenon which is called American Puritanism.

In this section you will read documents written by some of the first of these American Puritans and will discover first-hand the depth and significance of the Puritan experience.

A. An Idea

In June of 1630, John Winthrop, already elected governor of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, arrived in Massachusetts aboard the Arbella. Although he was not among the first Englishman to settle on the northeastern shores of our country (Plymouth

Plantation had been established in 1620), he was until his death in 1649, one of the most important forces in guiding the colony and in shaping its early policy. His Journal affords many interesting insights into the life and thought of the early Puritan settlers in Massachusetts Bay.

1. February 26, 1632:[1]

> Two little girls of the governour's family were sitting under a great heap of logs, plucking of birds, and the wind driving the feathers into the house, the governour's wife caused them to remove away. They were no sooner gone, but the whole heap of logs fell down in the place, and had crushed them to death, if the Lord, in his special providence, had not delivered them.

2. January, 1632:[2]

> A maid servant of Mr. Skelton[3] of Salem, going towards Sagus, was lost seven days, and at length came home to Salem. All that time she was in the woods, having no kind of food, the snow being very deep, and as cold as at any time that winter. She was so frozen into the snow some mornings, as she was one hour before she could get up; yet she soon recovered and did well, through the Lord's wonderful providence.

3. July 5, 1632:[4]

> At Watertown there was (in the view of divers witnesses) a great combat between a mouse and a snake; and, after a long fight, the mouse prevailed and killed the snake. The pastor of Boston,

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[1] John Winthrop, The History of New England From 1630 to 1649, ed. James Savage (Little, Brown & Co., Boston, 1853), I, 119-120.

[2] Ibid., 118.

[3] The minister at Salem.

[4] John Winthrop, History of New England, I, 97.

Mr. Wilson, a very sincere, holy man, hearing of it gave this interpretation: That the snake was the devil; the mouse was a poor contemptible people, which God had brought hither, which should overcome Satan here, and dispossess him of his kingdom.

4. October 31, 1632:[5]

About this time Mr. Dudley, his house at Newtown, was preserved from burning down, and all his family from being destroyed by gunpowder, by a marvellous deliverance;--the hearth of the hall chimney burning all night upon a principal beam and store of powder being near, and not discovered till they arose in the morning, and then it began to flame out.

5. January, 1646:[6]

At Ipswich there was a calf brought forth with one head, and three mouths, three noses, and six eyes. What these prodigies portended the Lord only knows, which in his due time he will manifest.

6. September, 1644:[7]

One of the deacons of Boston church, Jacob Eliot, (a man of a very sincere heart and an humble frame of spirit) had a daughter of eight years of age, who being playing with other children about a cart, the hinder end thereof fell upon the child's head, and an iron sticking out of it struck into the child's head, and drove a piece of the skull before it into the brain, so as the brains came out, and seven surgeons (some of the country, very experienced men, and others of the ships, which rode in the harbor) being called together for advice, etc., did all conclude, that it was the brains, (being about half a spoonful at one time, and more at other times,) and that there was no hope of the child's life, except the piece of skull could be drawn out. But one of the ruling elders of the church, an experienced and very skilful surgeon, liked not to take that course, but applied only plasters to it; and withal earnest prayers were made by the church to the Lord for it, and in six weeks it pleased God that the piece of skull consumed, and so came forth, and the child recovered perfectly; nor did it lose the senses at any time.

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[5] Ibid., 111.

[6] Ibid., II, 311.

[7] Ibid., 249-250.

Another was a child of one Bumstead, a member of the church, had a child of about the same age, that fell from a gallery in the meeting house about eighteen feet high, and brake the arm and shoulder, (and was also committed to the Lord in the prayers of the church, with earnest desires, that the place where his people assembled to his worship might not be defiled with blood,) and it pleased the Lord also that this child was soon perfectly recovered.

7. December 15, 1640:[8]

Mr. Pelham's[9] house in Cambridge took fire in the dead of the night by the chimney. A neighbor's wife hearing some noise among her hens persuaded her husband to arise, which, being very cold, he was loth to do, yet through her great importunity he did, and so espied the fire, and came running in his shirt, and had much to do to awake any body, but he got them up at last, and so saved all. The fire being ready to lay hold upon the stairs, they had all been burnt in their chambers, if God had not by his special providence sent help at that very instant.

8. June, 1646:[10]

One Smith of Watertown had a son about five years old, who fell into the river near the mill gate, and was carried by the stream under the wheel, and taken up on the other side, without any harm. One of the boards of the wheel was fallen off, and it seems (by special providence) he was carried through under that gap, for otherwise if an eel pass through, it is cut asunder. The miller perceived his wheel to check on the sudden, which made him look out, and so he found the child sitting up to the waist in the shallow water beneath the mill.

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[8] Ibid., 23.

[9] Herbert Pelham, Esq., first treasurer of Harvard College.

[10] John Winthrop, History of New England, I, 326.

9. July 27, 1640:[11]

> Being the second day of the week, the Mary Rose, a ship of Bristol, of about 200 tons, her master one Cap't. ____________, lying before Charlton, was blown in pieces with her own powder, being 21 barrels; wherein the judgment of God appeared, for the master and company were many of them profane scoffers at us, and at the ordinances of religion here; so as, our churches keeping a fast for our native country, etc., they kept aboard, at their common service, when all the rest of the masters came to our assemblies; likewise the Lord's day following; and a friend of his going aboard next day and asking him, why he came not on shore to our meetings, his answer was, that he had a family of his own, etc., and they had as good service aboard as we had on shore. Within two hours after this (being about dinner time) the powder took fire (no man knows how) and blew all up, viz. the captain and nine or ten of his men, and some four or five strangers. There was a special providence that there were no more, for many principal men were going aboard at that time, and some were in a boat near the ship, and others were diverted by a sudden shower of rain and others by other occasions. . . . This judgment of God upon these scorners of his ordinances and the ways of his servants (for they spoke very evil of us, because they found not so good a market for their commodities as they expected, etc.) gives occasion to mention other examples of like kind, which fell out at this and other times, by which it will appear how the Lord hath owned this work, and preserved and prospered his people here beyond ordinary ways of providence.

10. On August 6, 1633, John Winthrop recorded the following in his Journal:[12]

> Two men servants to one Moodye, of Roxbury, returning in a boat from the windmill, struck upon the oyster bank. They went out to gather oysters, and, not making fast their boat, when the flood came, it floated away, and they were both drowned, although they might have waded out on either side; but it was an evident judgment of God upon them, for they were wicked persons. One of them, a little before, being reproved for his lewdness, and put

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[11] Ibid., II, 13-14.

[12] Ibid., I, 126.

in mind of hell, answered, that if hell were ten times hotter, he had rather be there than he would serve his master, etc. The occasion was, because he had bound himself for divers years, and saw that, if he had been at liberty, he might have had greater wages, though otherwise his master used him very well.

11. Winthrop's *Journal*, March 23, 1644:[13]

[T]hree fishermen of a boat belonging to the Isle of Shoals were very profane men, and scorners of religion, and were drinking all the Lord's Day, and the next week their boat was cast upon the rocks at the Isle of Shoals, and they were drowned.

12. Winthrop's *Journal*, April, 1641:[14]

A godly woman of the church of Boston, dwelling sometimes in London, brought with her a parcel of very fine linen of great value, which she set her heart too much upon, and had been at charge to have it all newly washed, and curiously folded and pressed, and so left it in press in her parlor over night. She had a negro maid went into the room very late, and let fall some snuff of the candle upon the linen, so as by the morning all the linen was burned to tinder, and the boards underneath, and some stools and a part of the wainscot burned, and never perceived by any in the house, though some lodged in the chamber over head, and no ceiling between. But it pleased God that the loss of this linen did her much good, both in taking off her heart from worldly comforts, and in preparing her for a far greater affliction by the untimely death of her husband, who was slain not long after at Isle of Providence.

13. Winthrop's *Journal*, 1639:[15]

There happened a memorable thing at Plimouth about this time. One Keysar, of Lynn, being at Plimouth in his boat, and one Dickerson with him, a professor, but a notorious thief, was coming

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[13] *Ibid*., II, 187.

[14] *Ibid*., 36.

[15] *Ibid*., I, 387.

> out of the harbor with the ebb, and the wind southerly, a fresh gale; yet, with all their skill and labor, they could not, in three hours, get the above one league, so as they were forced to come to an anchor, and, at the flood, to go back to the town; and, as soon as they were come in, the said Dickerson was arrested upon suspicion of a gold ring and some other pieces of gold, which, upon search, were found about him, and he was there whipped for it. . . .
>
> These and many other examples of discovering hypocrites and other lews persons, and bringing them under their deserved punishments, do (among other things) show the presence and power of God in his ordinances, and his blessing upon his people, while they endeavor to walk before him with uprightness.

14. On April 6, 1645 Winthrop records the following:[16]

> John Johnson,[17] the surveyor general of the ammunition, a very industrious and faithful man in his place, having built a fair house in the midst of the town, with divers barns and other out houses, it fell on fire in the day time, (no man knowing by what occasion,) and there being in it seventeen barrels of the country's powder and many arms, all was suddenly burnt and blown up, to the value of 4 or 500 pounds, wherein a special providence of God appeared, for he being from home, the people came together to help, and many were in the house, no man thinking of the powder, till one of the company put them in mind of it, whereupon they all withdrew, and soon after the powder took fire, and blew up all about it, and shook the houses in Boston and Cambridge, so as men thought it had been an earthquake, and carried great pieces of timber a great way off and some rags and such light things beyond Boston meeting house. There being then a stiff gale at south, it drove the fire from the other houses in the town, (for this was the most northerly,) otherwise it had endangered the greatest part of the town. This loss of our powder was the more observable in two respects, 1. Because the court had not taken that care they ought to pay for it, having been owing for divers years; 2. In that, at the court before, they had refused to help our countrymen in Virginia, who had written to us for some for their defence against the Indians, and also to help our brethren of Plimouth in their want.

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[16] Ibid., II, 259.

[17] Johnson was constable at Roxbury and a deputy in the Massachusetts Court in addition to his duties described here by Winthrop.

15. Roger Clap, Captain in the militia, deputy to the General Court from Dorchester, and chaplain to the fort on Castle Island in Boston harbor, tells in his Memoirs how he happened to come to New England:[18]

> I thought good, my dear children, to leave with you some account of God's remarkable Providences to me, in bringing me into this land. . . . The scripture requireth us to tell God's wondrous works to our children, that they may tell them to their children, that God may have glory throughout all ages. Amen.
>
> I was born in England, in Sallcom, in Devonshire, in the year of our Lord 1609. My father was a man fearing God, and in good esteem among God's faithful servants. . . . We were five brethren (of which I was the youngest) and two sisters. . . . Four of us brethren lived at home: I did desire my dear father (my dear mother being dead) that I might live abroad, which he consented to. So I first went for trial to live with a worthy gentleman, Mr. William Southcot . . .
>
> He was careful to keep a godly family. There being but a very mean preacher in that place, we went every Lord's Day into the city, where were many famous preachers of the word of God. I then took such a liking unto the Rev. Mr. John Warham, that I did desire to live near him. So I removed (with my father's consent) into the city, and lived with one Mr. Mossiour, as famous a family for religion as ever I knew. . . . With him I covenanted. I never so much as heard of New-England until I heard of many godly persons that were going there, and that Mr. Warham was to go also. My master asked me, whether I would go? I told him were I not engaged unto him I would willingly go. He answered me, that should be no hindrance, I might go for him, or for myself, which I would. I then wrote to my father, who lived about twelve miles off, to entreat his leave to go to New-England; who was so much displeased at first, that he wrote no answer, but told my brethren that I should not go. Having no answer, I went and made my request to him, and God so inclined his heart, that he never said to me nay. For now God sent the Rev. Mr. Maverick, who lived forty miles off, a man I never saw before. He having heard of me, came to my father's house, and my father agreed that I should be with him and come under his care, which I did accordingly.

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[18] Roger Clap, Memoirs of Capt. Roger Clap (B. Green, Boston, 1731) as reprinted in Alexander Young, Chronicles of the First Planters of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, From 1623 to 1636 (Charles C. Little and James Brown, Boston, 1846), 345-347.

> Mind by what I have already expressed, that it was God that did draw me by his Providence out of my father's family, and weaned me from it by degrees. It was God put it into my heart to incline to live abroad; and it was God that made my father willing. God, by his Providence, brought me near Mr. Warham, and inclined my heart to his ministry. God, by his Providence, moved the heart of my master, Mossiour, to ask me whether I would go to New-England. It was God, by his providence, that made me willing to leave my dear father, and dear brethren and sisters, my dear friends and country. It was God that made my father willing, upon the first motion I made in person, to let me go. It was God that sent Mr. Maverick, that pious minister, to me, who was unknown to him, to seek me out that I might come hither. So God brought me out of Plymouth the 20th of March, 1629-30, and landed me in health at Nantasket, on the 30th of May, 1630, I being then about the age of twenty-one years. Blessed be God that brought me here!

16. Winthrop reports the following in his *Journal* on March 5, 1643:[19]

> Corn was very scarce all over the country, so as by the end of the second month, many families in most towns had none to eat, but were forced to live of clams, muscles, cataos, dry fish, etc., and sure this came by the just hand of the Lord, to punish our ingratitude and covetousness. . . . the immediate causes of this scarcity were the cold and wet summer, especially in the time of the first harvest; also, the pigeons came in such flocks, (above 10,000 in one flock) that beat down, and eat up a very great quantity of all sorts of English grain; . . . lastly there were such abundance of mice in the barns, that devoured much there. The mice also did much spoil in orchards, eating off bark at the bottom of the fruit trees in the time of the snow. . . . So many enemies doth the Lord arm against our daily bread, that we might know we are to eat it in the sweat of our brows.

17. Winthrop's *Journal*, July 1646:[20]

> Great harm was done in corn (especially wheat and barley) in this month by a caterpillar, like a black worm about an inch and a half long. They eat up first the blades of the stalk, then

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[19] John Winthrop, *History of New England*, II, 113.

[20] *Ibid.*, 327.

> they eat up the tassels, whereupon the ear withered. It was believed by divers good observers, that they fell in a great thunder shower, for divers yards and other bare places, where not one of them was to be seen an hour before, were presently after the shower almost covered with them, besides grass places where they were not so easily discerned. They did the most harm in the southern parts, as Rhode Island, etc., and in the eastern parts in their Indian corn. In divers places the churches kept a day of humiliation, and presently after the caterpillars vanished away.

18. Toward the end of 1648 we find this entry in Winthrop's Journal:[21]

> About this time we had intelligence of an observable hand of God against the Dutch at New Netherlands, which though it were sadly to be lamented in regard of the calamity, yet there appeared in it so much of God in favor of his poor people here, and displeasure towards such as have opposed and injured them, as is not to be passed by without due observation and acknowledgment. The late governour, Mr. William Kieft, (a sober and prudent man,) though he abstained from outward force, yet had continually molested the colonies of Hartford and New Haven, and used menacings and protests against them, upon all occasions, and had burnt down a trading house which New Haven had built upon Delaware river, and went for Holland in a ship of 400 tons, well manned and richly laden, to the value (as was supposed) of twenty thousand pounds, and carried away with him two of our people under censure, (the one condemned for rape,) though we pursued them, etc. But in their passage in the (8th) month, the ship, mistaking the channel, was carried into Severn, and cast away upon the coast of Wales near Swansey, the governour and eighty other persons drowned, and some twenty saved.

19. Increase Mather, father of Cotton Mather, was one of the most prominent clergymen in New England. A graduate of Harvard College in 1656 at the age of 17, and later president of his alma mater (1685-1701), he was active in both civil and religious affairs. He played a significant role in securing

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[21] Ibid., 385-386.

a new charter for Massachusetts in 1692. The following selection is taken from one of the books which Mather wrote concerning the troubles which the Indians had caused in New England:[22]

> There having been (as we said) a Patent for the Massachusetts government by Royal grant obtained,[23] many out of England flocked into this country almost every year. And for the most part, not so much on the account of trade, or to prosecute any worldly interest as on the account of Religion. These did God own, having wonderfully made way for their planting here by casting out the Heathen before them, with mortal diseases, especially by the Plague amongst the Indians in Plimouth Colony, and the Small Pox among the Massachusetts.

B. The Reality

Thomas Prince, minister and historian, was a member of the class of 1707 at Harvard. For 50 years he collected documents and papers relating to the history of New England, but he managed to organize only that part of his collection which covered the history of Massachusetts Bay from the creation of the world to 1633. Since, after his death in 1758, his manuscripts were deposited in the Old South Church in Boston, most were lost during the British occupancy of that building in 1775-1776. From those documents that remain comes the following description of life in Massachusetts Bay in 1631:[24]

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[22] Increase Mather, A relation of the Troubles which have happened in New-England by reason of the Indians there From the year 1614 to the year 1675 (Boston, 1677), 23.

[23] Mather is here speaking of the original charter of Massachusetts Bay, dated 1628.

As the winter came on, Provisions are very scarce in the Massachusetts-Bay and People necessitated to feed on Clams and Musles, and Ground Nuts & Acorns; and these got with much Difficulty in the Winter-Season. Upon which People grow much tired and discouraged; especially when they hear that the Gov himself has his last Batch of Bread in the Oven. And many are the Fears of the People that Mr. Pierce, who was sent to Ireland for Provision, is either Cast-away or taken by the Pirates. Upon this a Day of Fasting and Prayer to God for Relief is appointed [to be on the 6th of Feb.] But God, who delights to appear in the greatest Straits, works marvellously at this Time: For on

Feb. 5. The very Day before the appointed Fast, in comes the Ship Lyon, Mr. William Pierce Master, now arriving at Natasket, laden with Provisions. Upon which joyful Occasion the Day is chang'd, and ordered to be kept [on the 22d] as a Day of Thanksgiving.

Feb. 8. The Gov goes aboard the Lyon riding at Long-Island: [next Day] the Ship comes to an Anchor before Boston [to the great Joy of the People] where she rides very well, notwithstanding the great Drifts of Ice. And the Provisions are by the Gov distributed to the People proportionable to their Necessities. . . .

Feb. 10. The Frost breaks up in [Boston Harbour]: and it has been observ'd ever since this Bay was planted by English, vix. 7 Years, that the Frost hath broke up every Year at this Day.

The Poorer Sort of People who by long lying in Tents and small Huts are much afflicted with the Scurvey, and many Die, especially at Boston and Charleston. And it has been always observ'd here, that such as fell into Discontent, and linger'd after their former Conditions in England, fell into the Scurvy & Died. Of the old Planters and such as came the Year before, there were but 2 which have the Scurvy in all the Country. At Plymouth not any have it, no not of those who came this [last] Year, whereof there were above 60: whereas at their 1st Planting there, near half their People died of it. Of which Mortality, it may be said of us almost as of the Egyptians, there is not an House wherein there was not one Dead, and in some Houses many. The natural Causes seem to be: the Want of warm Lodging & good Diet, to which English [People] are habituated at Home; and the sudden Increase of Heat they endured who landed here in the Summer; the Salt Meats at Sea having prepared their Bodies thereto: For those only these 2 last Years Died of Fevers, who landed in June and July; as those of Plymouth who [formerly] landed in Winter died of the Scurvy; as did our Poorer Sort, whose Houseing and Bedding kept them not sufficiently warm, nor their Diet sufficiently in Heart. But when this Ship came, which bro't Store of Juice of Lemmons; many recover speedily.

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[24] Thomas Prince, Annals of New England, Vol. II, Numb. I (S. Kneeland and J. and T. Leverett, Boston, 1755), 18-20, as found in Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, 2d series (Nathan Hale, Boston, 1826), following 188. VII, 188ff.

2. From the Memoirs of Roger Clap comes this reminiscence of Massachusetts in 1630:[25]

Now coming into this country, I found it a vacant wilderness, in respect of English. There were indeed some English at Plymouth and Salem, and some few at Charlestown, who were very destitute when we came ashore; and planting time being past, shortly after provision was not to be had for money. I wrote to my friends, namely to my dear father, to send me some provision; which accordingly he did. . . . But before this supply came, yea, and after too, (that being spent, and the then unsubdued wilderness yielding little food,) many a time if I could have filled my belly, though with mean victuals, it would have been sweet unto me. Fish was a good help unto me and others. Bread was so very scarce, that sometimes I thought the very crusts of my father's table would have been very sweet unto me. And when I could have meal and water and salt boiled together, it was so good, who could wish better?

In our beginning many were in great straits for want of provision for themselves and their little ones. Oh the hunger that many suffered, and saw no hope in an eye of reason to be supplied, only by clams, and muscles, and fish. We did quickly build boats, and some went a fishing. But bread was with many a very scarce thing, and flesh of all kind as scarce. And in those days, in our straits, though I cannot say God sent a raven to feed us, as he did the prophet Elijah, yet this I can say, to the praise of God's glory, that he sent not only poor ravenous Indians, which came with their baskets of corn on their backs to trade with us, (which was a good supply unto many,) but also sent ships from Holland and from Ireland with provisions, and Indian corn from Virginia, to supply the wants of his dear servants in this wilderness, both for food and raiment. And when people's wants were great, not only in one town but in divers towns, such was the godly wisdom, care, and prudence, (not selfishness, but self-denial,) of our Governor Winthrop and his Assistants, that when a ship came laden with provisions, they did order that the whole cargo should be bought for a general stock; and so accordingly it was, and distribution was made to every town, and to every person in each town, as every man had need. Thus God was pleased to care for his people in times of straits, and to fill his servants with food and gladness. Then did all the servants of God bless his holy name, and love one another with pure hearts fervently.

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[25] Roger Clap, Memoirs, 351-354. [Footnote omitted.]

In those days God did cause his people to trust in him, and to be contented with mean things. It was not accounted a strange thing in those days to drink water, and to eat samp or hominy without butter or milk. Indeed, it would have been a strange thing to see a piece of roast beef, mutton, or veal; though it was not long before there was roast goat. After the first winter, we were very healthy, though some of us had no great store of corn. . . . Frost-fish, muscles, and clams were a relief to many. If our provision be better now than it was then, let us not, and do you, dear children, take heed that you do not, forget the Lord our God. You have better food and raiment than was in former times; but have you better hearts than your forefathers had? If so, rejoice in that mercy, and let New-England then shout for joy. Sure, all the people of God in other parts of the world, that shall hear that the children and grandchildren of the first planters of New-England have better hearts and are more heavenly than their predecessors, they will doubtless greatly rejoice, and will say, "This is the generation whom the Lord hath blessed."

SECTION II

THE USES OF AN IDEA

Since the American Puritans were virtually creating a society from nothing, a good portion of their time was spent in considering the shape which their various institutions should have. Churches needed to be organized, an economy had to be established and stabilized, and political affairs needed guidelines and direction. In this Section you will examine documents containing Puritan thought about religion, economics, and politics.

A. Religion

1. William Perkins was a graduate and fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge. Even after his death in 1602 his writings continued to exert a profound influence on English Puritan thought. His collected Workes was read in exacting and medieval fashion by every minister who came to Massachusetts Bay, and thus many of the ideas found in American Puritan thought can be traced directly to Perkins. The following selection comes from his discussion of the Apostles' Creed:[1]

> Thus much of the parts (knowledge and government of all things) of God's providence: now follows the kinds thereof. God's providence is either generall or speciall. General, is that which extends itselfe to the whole world and all things indifferently, even to the divels themselves. By this providence God continues and maintaines the order which he set in nature in the creation, and he preserves the life, substance, and the being of all and every creature in his kind.

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[1] William Perkins, "An Exposition of the Symbole or Creed of the Apostles," Workes (Cambridge, England, 1612), I, 157.

> The speciall providence is that, which God sheweth and exerciseth towards his church's chosen people, in gathering & guiding them, and in preserving them by his mighty power against the gates of hell. . . .

2. About "chance" Perkins said:[2]

> Thirdly, it may bee objected, that many things come to passe by chance and therefore not by Gods providence: because chance and providence cannot stand together. Ans. We must distinguish betweene chance and meere chance. Chance is, when anything comes to passe, the cause thereof being unknown not simply, but in respect of man: and therefore in regard of men we know not the reason of things, we may say there is chance: and so the spirit of God speaks . . . By chance there came downe a Priest the same way. Now this kind of chance is not against the providence of God, but is ordered by it. For things which in regard of men are casual, are certainly knowne and determined by God. Meere chance is, when things are said or thought to come to passe without any cause at al. But that must be abhorred of us as overturning the providence of God.

3. In another work Perkins continues:[3]

> Whosoever shall rest on God's providence, & good pleasure, even in cases of extremitie,[4] when hee shall be out of all hope with himselfe; shall at the last have a good issue.[5] This wee see to bee true by Abraham's example . . . he himselfe (no doubt) had rather have died ten thousand times, than to have Isaac slain . . . but yet, believing God's promise . . . he rests himselfe on God's good pleasure and providence, and goes on in obedience; and so in the end received a blessed issue. . . . So, when wee are in cases of extremitie, when all goes against us, and when we can see no hope of any good issue or end, and all good meanes seeme to fail us; if we can then cast ourselves on God's providence . . . we shall have comfort in the end, and a good issue out of all. . . .

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[2] Ibid., 155.

[3] William Perkins, "A Commentary Upon the Eleventh Chapter to the Hebrews," Workes, I, 120.

[4] An "extremitie" is an adversity, or a circumstance in which everything seems to be going wrong.

[5] An "issue" is a "result" or "outcome."

4. John Cotton arrived in Massachusetts in 1633 at the age of 48. A polished scholar of Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, Cotton gained renown by his preaching at the Boston Church. He is perhaps best known as the major opponent of Roger Williams in the controversy which arose before 1635 over the place of civil authority in religious affairs. One of Cotton's most striking sermons, God's Promise to His Plantation, was delivered in Southampton, England to the expedition headed by John Winthrop just prior to its sailing for Massachusetts in March of 1630:[6]

> . . . looke well to your plantation, as you desire that the sonnes of wickedness may not afflict you at home, nor enemies abroad, looke that you be right planted, and then you need not to feare, you are safe enough: God hath spoken it, I will plant them, and they shall not be moved, neither shall the sonnes of wickedness afflict them any more.
>
> Quest. What course would you have us take?
>
> Answ. Have speciall care that you ever have the Ordinances[7] planted amongst you, or else never looke for security. As soone as Gods Ordinances cease, your security ceaseth likewise; but if God plant his Ordinances among you, feare not, he will mainetaine them. . . .
>
> Secondly, have a care to be implanted into the Ordinances, so the word may be ingrafted into you, and you into it: If you take rooting in the ordinances, grow up thereby, bring forth much fruite, continue and abide therein . . . and the Lord will keepe you . . . that no sonnes of violence shall destroy you. Looke into all the stories whether divine or humane, and you shall never finde that God ever rooted out a people that had the Ordinances planted amongst them, and themselves planted into the Ordinances. . . .

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[6] John Cotton, God's Promise to His Plantation (London, 1630), 13-15.

[7] "Ordinances" are God's laws as found in the Bible.

Fifthly, have a tender care that you looke well to the plants that spring from you, that is, to your children, that they doe not degenerate as the Israelites did; after which they were vexed with afflictions on every hand. . . . Your Ancestours were of a noble divine spirit, but if they suffer their children to degenerate, to take loose courses, then God will surely plucke you up: Otherwise if men have a care to propagate the Ordinances and Religion to their children after them, God will plant them and not roote them up. . . .

Sixthly, and lastly, offend not the poore Natives, but as you partake in their land, so make them partakers of your precious faith: as you reape their temporalls, so feede them with your spiritualls: winne them to the love of Christ, for whom Christ died. . . . Who knoweth whether God have reared this whole Plantation for such an end:

Use 2. Secondly, for consolation to them that are planted by God in any place, that finde rooting and establishing from God, this is a cause of much encouragement unto you, that what hee hath planted he will maintaine, every plantation his right hand hath not planted shalbe rooted up, but his owne plantation shall prosper, & flourish. When he promiseth peace and safety, what enemies shalstbe able to make the promise of God of none effect? Neglect not walls, and bulwarkes, and fortifications for your owne defence; but

ever let the name of the Lord be your strong
Tower; and the word of his Promise the
Rocke of your refuge. His word
that made heaven and earth
will not faile, till hea-
ven and earth be
no more
Amen.

5. In a pamphlet entitled God's Mercie Mixed with His Justice Cotton set forth his explanation of "afflictions":[8]

All this that we might not trust in the flesh, but in the living God, who hath and doth and will deliver us; so that afflictions are to draw from us Faith and patience, it is a point Christians are too much ignorant of. . . . The first day you came into the church you were baptized, and God made account you should looke for affliction from that day forward, and if they be many and great and sore exercises, the greater and deeper your troubles be, the deeper you drinke of Christs cup, the more sweete will it bee in the bottome; there is something in the bottome will counter-vaile all; you will find the blood of Christ in the bottome, and the Spirit of grace, and the presence of God there. . . .

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[8] John Cotton, God's Mercie Mixed with His Justice (London, 1641), 37-38.

/It/ is from the powerful efficacy of all blessed and sanctified afflictions; and their efficacy is to set all the graces of God a worke, and all the duty of Religion a worke. . . .

See it in particular. First, sanctified afflictions have ever this worke, they first, humble the soule of a man before God. . . . Secondly, afflictions set a worke confession of sin. . . . Now what will confession bring? It will likewise bring us grace. . . . Thirdly, they set Faith a worke; afflictions are called the tryals of our Faith. . . for they put us upon consideration, whence they come, and to what end they come. . . . Fourthly, afflictions quicken the heart of a Christian to prayer, . . . They learne a man to pray, who was never acquainted with prayer before. Fifthly, afflictions set patience a worke, the tryals bring forth patience. . . . Sixthly, afflictions worke obedience, for they purifie from sinne and traine us up to bring foorth the peaceable and quiet fruits of Righteousness."

6. John Cotton, while discussing the meaning of the Book of Ecclesiastes, poses this question--Of what purposes, then, are the evil occurrences which befall us? He answers:[9]

Use. 1: to stir us up to observe and finde out the work of God in every change of estate that passeth over us. . . . to teach us not to disparage, or slight, or dislike any of God's works, but to magnify them. They are everyone beautiful in his season. . . . This magnifying of every work of God (as beautiful in his season) will keep us from discontent and murmuring at God's providence, whatsoever it be that befalleth us as ours. . . .

Use. 3: to teach us to improve and imploy that knowledge of the world (that is of all the changes that befall us in the world) which God hath put into our hearts, to find out the councel and work of God therein. . . .

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[9] John Cotton, A Brief Exposition with Practical Observations Upon the Whole Book of Ecclesiastes (London, 1654), 60-61.

Obj. Yea, faith one, if I could but spell out God's meaning in his works and dealings with my selfe and mine, it would give me great contentment.

Answ. 1: In evils observe, First what thou wast doing when a crosse befel thee. . . . Secondly, what conscience suggesteth to thee. . . . Thirdly, the proportion of the affliction to thy sinne. . . . Fourthly, cast all idols out of thy heart, and enquire of the Lord his meaning, that thou mightest know it and doe it. . . .

2. In good things observe, First the opportunities and advantages God putteth into our hands. . . . Secondly, the great works God hath in hand, and derive your Brooks to runne into that stream.

7. From a tract by Increase Mather:[10]

As to all events which come to pass in the world, he that sitteth upon the Throne hath an hand therein. There is nothing cometh to pass without a providence. Those things which as to men are the most Contingent and fortuitous, the Lord has an over ruling hand of providence therein. . . . So if a man happen to kill another by meer Accident, it may be he is cutting wood, and the head of his ax flies off and kills his neighbor, the providence of God has for holy ends ordered that sad casualty. . . .

The providence of God is extended to the least and most inconsiderable things that happen in the world. Heathen philosophers . . . could say . . . the great God has something else to doe than to mind little matters, but they knew not the Lord aright; He would not be God if the least thing in the world should happen without him.

8. Later in the same tract Increase Mather has this to say:[11]

Solomon sinned by dividing the worship which was due to God alone. . . . Therefore (and that was a suitable Judgment) the Kingdome must be divided between his son and another. He served God with an imperfect Heart, and God left him but an imperfect Kingdom. . . . Strange sins are followed with Strange Punishments. . . . New sins with New Punishments. Hence in these last dayes there are new kinds of diseases which in former ages were not known; for there are Inventers of evil things, and wickedness formerly unheard of. . . .

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[10] Increase Mather, The Doctrine of Divine Providence opened and appplyed (Boston, 1684), 11.

[11] Ibid., 66-67, 69.

If men set their hearts inordinately upon any Creature-comfort, belike they will first or last meet with much affliction therein and thereby. Either God will punish them by takeing away that which their hearts are inordinately set upon, or else He will cause that Idol to become a scourge and plague. So when parents do sinfuly indulge their children they commonly meet with much affliction in them.

B. Economics

1. John Winthrop, during his voyage to New England aboard the Arbella, composed and delivered a sermon entitled A Modell of Christian Charity:[12]

God Almighty in his most holy and wise providence, hath soe disposed of the condition of manking, as in all times some must be rich, some poore, some high and eminent in power and dignitie; others mean and in submission.

The Reason hereof

1 Reas. First to hold conformity with the rest of his world, being delighted to show forth the glory of his wisdom in the variety and difference of the creatures, and the glory of his power in ordering all these differences for the preservation and good of the whole. . . .

2 Reas. Secondly, that he might have the more occasion to manifest the work of his Spirit: first upon the wicked in moderating and restraining them: soe that the riche and mighty should not eate upp the poore nor the poore and despised rise upp against and shake off theire yoke. . . .

3 Reas. Thirdly, that every man might have need of others, and from hence they might be all knitt more nearly together in the Bonds of brotherly affection. From hence it appears plainly that noe man is made more honourable than another or more wealthy

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[12] John Winthrop, "A Modell of Christian Charity," as found in Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, 3d. Series (Charles C. Little and James Brown, Boston, 1838), VII, 33-34.

&c., out of any particular and singular respect to himselfe, but for the glory of his creator and the common good of the creature, man.

2. In the Workes of William Perkins we find A Treatise of Callings (1612):[13]

> The vices to be eschewed in the workes of mens callings[14] are especially two: Covetousness and Injustice. Covetousness is a notorious vice, whereby all men almost apply their callings, and the workes thereof, to the gathering of wealth and riches: this is one of the head and master sinnes of the world, and from it a sea of evils flow both into Church and common-wealth. . . . Now then, considering Covetousness is so vile a sinne, let such as be placed in any calling, take heede of it, and be carefull least it take place in their hearts, and drawe them to many other evils. Saint Paul saith, they that will be rich, that is, such as reserve the labour of their callings to the gathering of wealth, fall into many and grievous temptations, and so consequently into damnation and therefore he addeth, that Covetousness is the roote of all evil. In the bodie when the spleene swelles, all other parts decaie and consume: even so, when the heart swells with desire of riches, all the graces of God consume and fade away. . . .Therefore, speciall care must be had, that our time and calling be not spent in gathering earthly treasures. And every man in his calling may remedie this vice, and the practice thereof, by doing these two duties. First, he must restraine his affection from the world. Secondly, he must turne and dispose it to better things. A notable example of this vertue we have in the Apostle Paul: who had learned in whatsoever estate he was, therewith to be content. And therefore he saith, I can be abased, and I can abound, everywhere and in all things I am instructed both to be full, and to be hungrie, to abound, and to have want. This which Paul practised, is soone said, but not so soone done. Now that we for our parts may after his example be content in every estate of life; we are to performe these duties. First, we must labour to see a particular providence of God, and to have experience hereof in all things that come to passe. In health, wealth, and libertie, all men acknowledge a providence; but in the contrary estates, of sickness, bondage, and poverty, & the blind world seeth no providence, nor goodness of God, it shuts up all the goodness of God in health and wealth. But such as professe the knowledge of the true God, must better acquaint themselves with this providence and goodness of God, and labour

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[13] William Perkins, "A Treatise of Callings," Workes, I, 744-746.

[14] For the Puritan, a man's "calling" is his vocation: his job or business or profession. A man is called by God to a specific vocation. cf. the Latin root of "vocation."

to feele it, as well in sickness as in health, in persecution as in libertie and peace. . . .

/It/ is alleadged, when men doe seeke for abundance, they finde it, and God would not give it them, unlesse it were a blessing: because, whatsoever is of God is good. I answer, first of all, that God in giving aboundance to the covetous man, is void of al blame; for the question is, of the mans seeking and receiving, not of Gods giving. Againe, when God grants aboundance to some that seeke it, he gives a blessing, but like to the quailes which hee gave to the Israelits, that brought a plague with them: for God oftentimes giveth temporall blessings in his wrath. Thirdly, it may be alleadged, that God hath made a promise to every righteous man, that he shall receive aboundance; riches and treasures shall be in his house (saith David) and therefore he may lawfully seeke for riches. I answer two waies; first, that by riches in the word of God is often understood things necessarie, and not aboundance. Secondly, if riches be taken for aboundance; I answer, that promises concerning temporall blessings must be understood with exception of the crosse and chasticement: and therefore the meaning of the Psalmist is, that riches shall be given to the righteous, unlesse it bee the will of God to exercise & trie him by want and povertie. . . .

Lastly, it is alleadged, that there be examples of righteous men; as Abraham, Jacob, and Salomon, that abounded with riches. I answer, they got not their riches by seeking aboundance: they were made rich by Gods sending, not by their owne seeking. So may any men accept abundance, when it is the pleasure of God to bestow it upon them, while they walke in their callings.

3. John Preston, an English Puritan minister and lecturer at Cambridge during the early 17th century, ranked with William Perkins in his influence on American Puritan thinking. In a collection of Preston's Treatises we find an essay entitled A Remedy Against Covetousnesse (1633):[15]

But how shall I know Gods will, and what my portion is?

I answer, by the event: sec in what estate and condition God hath set you, this is your Portion, and with it you must bee

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[15] John Preston, "A Remedy Against Covetousnesse," Foure Godly and Learned Treatises (London, 1633), 32-33, 41-43.

> contented. God hath a Soveraignty over us, we are but his subjects, and must bee contented with what hee gives us: you are contented with that which your Fathers or your Prince gives you; therefore you must receive that which God bestows upon you, with all humility and thankfulnesse. . . . and so we ought to be content with that Portion which God hath given us, be it never so small, because it is more than we deserve; and if wee desire or seeke for more, this desire is sinnefull. . . .
>
> But may not a man use his calling to increase his wealth?
>
> I answer, that the end of mens callings is not to gather riches, if men make this their end, it is a wrong end; but the end of our callings is to serve God and man. The ground of which is this. Every man is a member of the Common wealth, every man hath some guifts or other, which must not lye idle: every man hath some Tallents and must use them to his Masters advantage; and how can that bee, except yee doe good to men: Every one is a Servant to Christ and must doe Gods worke: no man is free; every one is Christs servant, and must be diligent to serve Christ, and to do good to men. He who hath an office must be diligent in it. If Riches come in by our callings, that is the wages, not the end of our calling, for it lookes onely to God. . . . On the other side, if a man by diligence in his calling have Riches following him, hee may take them as a blessing of God bestowed on him, and as a reward of his calling. The diligent hand maketh rich; that is, God will surely reward it; not that we must eye-riches and make them our end; God makes a man rich, and man makes himselfe rich. God makes us rich, by being diligent in our callings; using it to his glory and mans good, hee doth cast riches on us: Man makes himselfe rich, when as he makes riches the end of his calling, and doth not expect them as a reward that comes from God. . . . wee must looke to our duty, and let God alone to provide and pay us our wages: he that takes a Servant, bids him onely to looke to his duty, and let him alone to provide him meate, drinke, and wages. We are Servants, GOD is our Master, let us looke to our duty, and leave the wages to him.

4. One of the most significant statements concerning the American Puritan's understanding of economics and life was made by John Cotton in his book, Christ the Fountain of Life, published in 1651:[16]

> There is another combination of Vertues strangely mixed in

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[16] John Cotton, Christ the Fountain of Life (London, 1651), 119-120.

> every lively holy Christian, And that is, Diligence in worldly businesses, and yet deadnesse to the world. . . . For a man to rise early, and goe to bed late, and eate the bread of carefulnesse, not a sinfull, but a provident care, and to avoide idlenesse, cannot indure to spend any idle time, takes all opportunities to be doing something, early and late, and looseth no opportunity, go any way and bestire himselfe for profit, this will hee doe most diligently in his calling: And yet bee a man dead-hearted to the world, the diligent hand maketh rich. . . .
>
> Set not your affections upon things below, but on things that are above, for we are dead with Christ. Meaning dead to all these earthly things, and all the comforts here below, they are not our life, but our life is hid with Christ in God; and therefore to this world are wee dead. . . .
>
> Be busse like Antes, morning and evening, early and late, and labour diligently with their hands, and with their wits, and which way forever as may be the best improvement of a mans tallent; it must be imployed to the best advantage, and yet when a man hath laboured this busily, yet his heart, and minde, and affections are above; he goes about all his businesse, in obedience to God's Commandement, and he intends the glory of God.

C. Politics

1. From John Winthrop's sermon, A Modell of Christian Charity, comes insight into the political views current in Massachusetts Bay in 1630:[17]

> Wee are a Company professing our selves fellow members of Christ, in which respect onely though wee were absent from each other many miles, and had our imployments as farre distant, yet wee ought to account ourselves knitt together by this bond of love, and, live in the exercise of it. . . . This was notorious in the practise of the Christians in former times. . . . they use to love any of theire owne religion even before they were acquainted with them. . . .

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[17] John Winthrop, "A Modell of Christian Charity," 44-47.

> It is by a mutuall consent, through a speciall overvaluing providence and a more than an ordinary approbation of the Churches of Christ, to seeke out a place of Cohabitation and Consorteshipp under a due forme of Government both civill and ecclesiasticall. In such cases as this, the care of the publique must oversway all private respects, by which, not only conscience, but meare civill pollicy, dothe binde us. For it is a true rule that particular Estates cannott subsist in the ruine of the publique. . . .
>
> Thus stands the cause betweene God and us. We are entered into Covenant with Him for his works. Wee have taken out a Commission, the Lord hath given us leave to drawe our own Articles. . . . Wee have hereupon besought him of favour and blessing. Now if the Lord shall please to heare us, and bring us in peace to the place wee desire, then hath hee ratified this Covenant and sealed our Commission, and will expect a strict performance of the articles contained in it; but if wee shall neglect the observation of these articles which are the ends wee have propounded, and, dissembling with our God, shall fall to embrace this present world and prosecute our carnall intentions, seekeing greate things for our selves and our posterity, the Lord will surely breake out in wrathe against us; be revenged of such a sinful people and make us knowe the price of the breache of such a covenant. . . . For wee must consider that wee shall be as a citty upon a hill. The eies of all people are upon Us. Soe that if wee shall deale falsely with our God in this worke wee have undertaken, and soe cause him to withdrawe his present help from us, wee shall be made a story and a by-word through the world. Wee shall open the mouthes of enemies to speake evill of the wayes of God, and all professors for God's sake. Wee shall shame the faces of many of God's worthy servants, and cause theire prayers to be turned into curses upon us till we be consumed out of the good land whither wee are a goeing.

2. In 1645 John Winthrop, as deputy governor of Massachusetts Bay, made a "little speech" before the general court. This speech recorded for posterity by Winthrop in his Journal affords an insight both into Puritan political thought and into living conditions in Massachusetts:[18]

The great questions that have troubled the country, are about the authority of the magistrates and the liberty of the people. It is yourselves who have called us to this office, and being called by you, we have our authority from God, in way of an ordinance, such as hath the image of God eminently stamped upon it, the contempt and violation whereof hath been vindicated with examples of divine vengeance. . . . The covenant between you and us is the oath you have taken of us, which is to this purpose, that we shall govern you and judge your causes by the rules of God's laws and our own, according to our best skill. . . .

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[18] John Winthrop, History of New England, II, 280-282.

For the other point concerning liberty, I observe a great mistake in the country about that. There is a twofold liberty, natural (I mean as our nature is now corrupt) and civil or federal. The first is common to man with beasts and other creatures. By this, man, as he stands in relation to man simply, hath liberty to do what he lists; it is a liberty to evil as well as to good. This liberty is incompatible and inconsistent with authority, and cannot endure the least restraint of the most just authority. The exercise and maintaining of this liberty makes men grow more evil, and in time to be worse than brute beasts. . . .

The other kind of liberty I call civil or federal, it may also be termed moral, in reference to the covenant between God and man, in the moral law, and the politic covenants and constitutions, amongst men themselves. This liberty is the proper end and object of authority, and cannot subsist without it; and it is a liberty to that only which is good, just, and honest. This liberty you are to stand for, with the hazard (not only of your goods, but) of your lives, if need be. Whatsoever crosseth this, is not authority, but a distemper thereof. This liberty is maintained and exercised in a way of subjection to authority; it is of the same kind of liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free. The woman's own choice makes such a man her husband; yet being so chosen, he is her lord, and she is to be subject to him, yet in a way of liberty, not of bondage; and a true wife accounts her subjection her honor and freedom, and would not think her condition safe and free, but in her subjection to her husband's authority. . . .

/If/ you will be satisfied to enjoy such civil and lawful liberties, such as Christ allows you, then will you quietly and cheerfully submit unto that authority which is set over you, in all the administrations of it, for your good. Wherein, if we fail at any time, we hope we shall be willing (by God's assistance) to hearken to good advice from any of you, or in any other way of God; so shall your liberties be preserved, in upholding the honor and power of authority amongst you.

3. In his book, An Exposition upon the thirteenth Chapter of the Revelation (1655), John Cotton includes these comments:[19]

> Let all the world learn to give mortall men no greater power then they are content they shall use, for use it they will: and unlesse they be better taught of God, they will use it ever and anon. . . .
>
> It is therefore most wholsome for Magistrates and Officers in Church and Common-wealth, never to affect more liberty and authority then will do them good, and the People good; for what ever transcendant power is given, will certainly over-run those that give it, and those that receive it: There is a straine in a mans heart that will sometime or other runne out of excesse, unlesse the Lord restraine it, but it is not good to venture it: It is necessary therefore, that all power that is on earth be limited, Church-power or other: If there be power given to speak great things, then look for great blasphemies, look for a licentious abuse of it. It is counted a matter of danger to the State to limit Prerogatives; but it is a further danger, not to have them limited: They will be like a Tempest, if they be not limited. . . .
>
> It is therefore fit for every man to be studious of the bounds which the Lord hath set: and for the People, in whom fundamentally all power lyes, to give as much power as God in his word gives to men: And it is meet that Magistrates in the Common-wealth, and so Officers in Churches should desire to know the utmost bounds of their own power, and it is safe for both: All intrenchment upon the bounds which God hath not given, they are not enlargements, but burdens and snares; They will certainly lead the spirit of a man out of his way sooner or later. It is wholesome and safe to be dealt withall as God deales with the vast Sea; Hitherto shalt thou come, but there shalt thou stay thy proud waves: and therefore if they be but banks of simple sand, they will be good enough to check the vast roaring Sea. . . .

4. One of the most important sources of our knowledge of Puritan political thought is the sermons which were preached by various ministers on election days in Massachusetts Bay. John Davenport, the principal founder of and leading figure

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[19] John Cotton, An Exposition upon the thirteenth Chapter of the Revelation (London, 1655), 71-72.

in the New Haven colony (1638), returned to Boston in 1668, two years before his death at the age of 73. There he became minister of the First Church, and on election day, May 19, 1669, Davenport preached this sermon to a congregation composed of the most important governmental officials in Massachusetts Bay:[20]

> I shall sum up all in one Doctrinal Conclusion, which shall be this;
>
> > That it is the Ordinance of God, in reference to Civil Government in Commonwealths, that some men orderly chosen should rule over other men: and in reference to the qualifications of Rulers, that they be just, ruling in the fear of God. . . .
>
> These two, Justice and the fear of God, must be conjoyned by Gods Ordinance in Rulers over men, if they would have his presence, assistance, and blessing with them in their publick Administrations. . . .
>
> The choice of good Rulers will be a sign and pledge of Gods intendment to bless their Government and his People thereby. For when God gives Rulers, whom he intends to make a blessing to his People, they shall be such as are blessed of him in Christ for the good of that People. . . .
>
> Let Christ therefore have the preheminence in all things, and in your choice of Rulers for the Commonwealth; and in order thereunto, see that they whom you choose to be Rulers, be men interressed personally in Christ: For when they that are called to Ruling Power, cease to exert it in subserviency to the Kingdom of Christ, there will be an end of New England's Glory, and Happiness, and Safety.
>
> Motive 2. You must submit to their Authority, and perform all duties to them, whom you have chosen to be your Rulers, whether they be good or bad, by vertue of the Relation between them and you. . . .
>
> Motive 3. If men unjust, and that fear not God, be chosen Rulers of the Commonwealth, all the People are in danger of being punished by the wrath of God for the sins of their Rulers; Bad men being in publick place, will give bad counsel to corrupt Religion . . . the end will be ruine.

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[20] John Davenport, *A Sermon Preach'd at the Election of the Governour at Boston in New-England May 19, 1669* (Boston, 1670), 3, 9-11.

SECTION III

SECOND GENERATION

Because of their role as interpreters of God's law to the people, the ministers in Puritan New England occupied a unique position in the society. God's word and the minister's word were virtually inseparable. It was an unwritten law in Massachusetts that when the ministers spoke the people listened. When the minister called for action, the society responded. In this Section you will read documents in which the ministers spoke. You will then see how the society responded, and you will investigate certain aspects of the Puritan way of living and thinking in the 17th century.

A. The Jeremiad

1. Feeling that his days were numbered, Richard Mather, father of Increase Mather and minister of the church in Dorchester, preached and published his Farewel Exhortation to the Church and People of Dorchester in New England (1657). His premonition proved unwarranted for he lived another twelve years, dying at the age 77. Following are excerpts from that Farewel Exhortation:[1]

> You have therefore so much more need to take heed and beware, least your Religion reach no further but to the profession

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[1] Richard Mather, A Farewel Exhortation to the Church and People of Dorchester in New England (Cambridge, 1657), 16-17.

& the external form thereof. . . . It is true the condition of many amongst you . . . is such as necessarily puts you to have much employment about the things of this life, and to labour with care & paines taking in the workes of husbandry, and other worldly business for the maintenance of your selves & your families, the Lord having laid this burden on man . . . & experience shewes that it is an easy thing on the middest of worldly business to loose the life and the power of Religion, that nothing thereof should be left but only the external form, as it were the carcass or shell, worldliness having eaten out the kernell, and having consumed the very soul & life of Godliness . . . so while many men are busie here & there about worldly imployments, the power and life of Religion, which they should have carefully kept, is utterly lost and quite gone. . . .

Oh, therefore, take heed, I do beseech you, least it be so with any of you, least earthly cares and encumbrances should dull your spirits, and take off their edge in the things of greatest importance, and lest by these things all the vigour of Religion should be wasted and worne out, and nothing be left but a dry and sapless formallity, a spiritless and powerless profession. You would be more happy if you could make a vertue of necessity, I mean if you could turn all the acts of your particular callings, all the imployments that God hath laid upon you about these earthly things, if you could turn them all into so many acts of Religion and Obedience towards God.

2. John Higginson, the minister at Salem, published the following discourse entitled The Cause of God and His People in New England in 1663:[2]

When the Lord stirred up the spirits of so many of His people to come over in~~to this~~ wilderness, it was not for Worldly Wealth, or a better livelihood for the outward man. The generality of the people that came over, professed the contrary: Nor had we any rational grounds to expect such a thing in such a wilderness. Tho' God hath blessed his poor people here, and there are that have increased here, from small beginnings to great estates; That the Lord may call this whole generation to witness.--O Generation see! Look upon your towns and fields, Look upon your habitations and shops, and ships, and behold your numerous posterity, and great increase in the blessings of the Land and Sea;

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[2] John Higginson, The Cause of God and His People in New England (Cambridge, 1663), 11.

Pages 35 and 36 are missing.

heaven: and the ministers in their several congregations by their ministry, set themselves to testifie against those *evils*. Nor is it a thing unworthy of a great remark, that great *successes* against the enemy accompanied some notable transactions both in *church* and in *court*, for the reformation of our *provoking evils*. But it was to be confessed, that the *degeneracy* of *New-England*, in any measure, into the spirit of the *world*, was a thing extreamly aggravated, by the greatness of our *obligations* to the contrary.

3. After *peace* was restored unto the country . . . [and] that there might be made a more exact *scrutiny* into the *causes* of the divine displeasure against the land, and into the *methods* of removing and preventing the matter of lamentation. . . . the *general Court* of the *Massachuset colony* were prevailed withal, to call upon the churches, that they would send their *elders* and other *messengers*, to meet in a *synod*, for the solemn discussion of those two questions, *what are the provoking evils of New England*? and *what is to be done, that so those evils may be reformed*?

The churches, having first kept a general *fast*, that the gracious presence and spirit of God might be obtained, for the direction of the approaching *synod*, the *synod* convened at *Boston*, *Sept. 10, 1679*, chusing *Mr. John Shermon*, and *Mr. Urian Oakes*, for joint moderators, during the biggest part of the session. . . . Nothing shall detain my reader from the admonitions of this *reforming synod*. . . .

THE NECESSITY OF REFORMATION, with the expedients subservient thereunto, asserted, in answer to two questions.

Question I. -- *What are the evils that have provoked the Lord to bring his judgments on New-England*?

I. There is a great and visible decay of the power of Godliness amongst many professors in these churches. . . .

II. The Pride that doth abound in *New-England* testifies against us. . . . Yea, and Pride in respect of apparel hath greatly abounded; servants and the poorer sort of people are notoriously guilty in this matter, who (too generally) go above their estates and degrees, thereby transgressing the laws both of God and man. . . .

III. Inasmuch as it was in a more peculiar manner with respect to the second commandment, that our fathers did follow the Lord into this wilderness . . . we may fear that the breaches of that commandment are some part of the Lord's controversie with *New-England*. Church-fellowship and other divine institutions are greatly neglected. Many of the rising generation are not mindful of that, which their baptism doth engage them unto, viz. to use utmost endeavours that they may be fit for, and so partake in all the holy ordinances of the Lord Jesus. . . .

IV. The holy and glorious name of God hath been polluted and profaned amongst us, more especially.

1. By oaths and imprecations in ordinary discourse. . . . So that we may justly fear that because of swearing the land mourns. There is great prophaneness in respect of irreverent behaviour in the solemn worship of God. It is a frequent thing for men (though not necessitated thereunto by any infirmity) to sit in prayer time, and some with their heads almost covered, and to give way to their own sloth and sleepiness, when they should be serving God with attention and intention. . . .

V. There is much sabbath-breaking; since there are multitudes that do profanely absent themselves or theirs from the public worship of God, on his holy day, especially in the most populous places of the land. . . . This brings wrath, fires and other judgments upon a professing people.

VI. As to what concerns families and government thereof, there is much amiss. There are many families that do not pray to God constantly morning and evening, and many more, wherein the scriptures are not daily read. . . . In this respect Christians in this land, have become too like unto the *Indians*, and then we need not wonder, if the Lord hath afflicted us by them. Sometimes a sin is discerned by the instrument that Providence doth punish with. . . .

VII. Inordinate passions. Sinful heats and hatreds, and that among church-members themselves, who abound with evil surmisings, uncharitable and unrighteous censures, back-bitings, hearing and telling tales. . . .

VIII. There is much intemperance. That heathenish and idolatrous practice of health-drinking is too frequent. That shameful inquiry of sinful drinking is become too general a provocation. Days of training and other publick solemnities, have been abused in this respect. . . . There are more temptations and occasions unto *that sin*, publickly allowed of than any necessity doth require. . . . [*It*] is a common practice for town-dwellers, yea, and church-members to frequent publick houses, and there to misspend precious time, unto the dishonour of the gospel. . . . In which respect for church-members to be unnecessarily in such houses, is sinful, scandalous, and provoking to God.

And there are other hainous breaches of the seventh commandment. Temptations thereunto are become too common, viz. such as immodest apparl. . . . naked necks, and arms. . . and mixed dancings, light behaviour, and expressions, sinful company-keeping with light and vain persons, unlawful gaming, an abundance of idleness, which brought ruinating judgment upon Sodom. . . . and doth sorely threaten New-England unless effectual remedies be thoroughly and timously applied.

IX. There is much want of truth amongst men. Promise-breaking is a common sin, for which New-England doth hear ill abroad in the world. And the Lord hath threatened for that transgression to give his people into the hands of their enemies. . . .

X. Inordinate affection unto the world. Idolatry is a God-provoking, judgment-procuring sin. And covetousness is idolatry. There hath been in many professors an insatiable desire after land, and worldly accommodations; yea, so as to forsake churches and ordinances, and to live like heathen, only that so they might have elbow-room enough in the world. Farms and merchandisings have been preferred before the things of God. In this respect the interest of New-England seemeth to be changed. . . . /It/ was not any worldly considerations that brought our fathers into this wilderness, but religion, even that so they might build a sanctuary unto the Lord's name; whereas now religion is made subservient unto worldly interests. . . .

XI. There hath been opposition to the work of reformation. Although the Lord hath been calling upon us, not only by the voice of his servants, but by lawful judgments, that we should return unto him, who hath been smiting of us, and notwithstanding all the good laws, that are established for the suppression of growing evils, yet men will not return every one from the evil way. . . .

XII. A publick spirit is greatly wanting in the most of men. Matters appertaining to the kingdom of God, are either not at all regarded, or not in the first place. Hence schools of learning and other publick concerns are in a languishing state. . . .

Question II.-- What is to be done, that so these evils may be reformed?

I. It would tend much to promote the interest of reformation, if all that are, in place above others, do as to themselves and families, become every way exemplary.

II. In as much as the present standing generation (both as to leaders and people) is for the greater part another generation, than what was in New-England forty years ago, for us to declare our adherence to the faith and order of the gospel. . . . may be likewise a good means both to recover those that have erred from the truth, and to prevent apostacy for the future.

III. It is requisite that persons be not admitted unto communion in the Lord's supper, without making a personal and publick profession of their faith and repentance. . . .

IV. In order to reformation, it is necessary that the discipline of Christ in the power of it should be upheld in the churches. . . . /The/ management of discipline according to the scripture, was the special design of our fathers in coming into this wilderness. The degeneracy of the rising generation (so much complained of) is in a great measure to be attributed unto neglects of this nature. If all church discipline, in these respects, were faithfully and diligently attended, not only towards parents, but also towards the children of the church, according to the rules of Christ, we may hope that the sunk and dying interest of religion will be revived. . . .

VII. Due care and faithfulness with respect unto the establishment and execution of wholesome laws, would very much promote the interest of reformation. . . .

XI. As an expedient for reformation, it is good, that effectual care should be taken, respecting schools of learning. The interest of religion and good literature have been wont to rise and fall together. . . . When New-England was poor, and we were but few in number comparatively, there was a spirit to encourage learning and the college was full of students. . . but it is deeply to be lamented that now when we are become many . . . our . . . society, and . . . schools are in such a low and languishing state. Wherefore, as we desire that reformation and religion should flourish, it concerns us to endeavor that both the college, and all other schools of learning in every place, be duly inspected and encouraged.

B. Response to the Jeremiad

1. In the Records of the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay, entry for March 13, 1639:[5]

The 4th of the 2d month was thought meete for a day of humiliation,[6] to seeke the face of God, & reconciliation with him by our Lord Jesus Christ, in all the churches. Novelties, oppression, athisme, excesse, superfluity, idlenes, contempt of authority, &

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[5] Nathaniel B. Shurtleff, Records of the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England (William White, Boston, 1853), I, 253.

[6] A day of fasting and prayer.

troubles in other parts to bee remembered.

2. And for November 27, 1661:[7]

> It being obvious to all pious & serious persons amongst us that wee are called of God deepely to humble ourselves for the many & great sinns & evill of the country, as our unproffitablenes, neglect, & indisposednes to a full inquiry & practice of the order of the gospell; the great ignorance & inclincation of the rising generation to vanity, prophanes, & disobedience, the sinfull indulgence in family government; pride & excesse in apparrell; inordinate love of the world & the things thereof; insensiblenes of evill occurrences; & in speciall, Gods suffering many ennemies & underminers to multiply complaints against us to our soveraigne lord the king; the impetuous & restles intrusions of haereticks & ennemies to the ways, worship, & ordinances of God; the cursed combination of Antichrist & his adherents to ruine & trample upon all the sincere servants of God the world throughout,--this court doeth commend the serious consideration of the aforesaid things, with others of like nature, together with the afflicted condition of the people of God elsewhere, unto all the churches & inhabitants of this jurisdiction, & doe appoint the second day of January next to be kept a day of solemne humilliation and supplication to the Lord for a thorough redresse, & returne from the said iniquities, and also for the diverting such calamities as are coming upon us & the people of God the Xtian world throughout.

3. In The Colonial Laws of Massachusetts are listed "Several Laws and Orders made at Sessions of the General Court. Held at Boston the 13th of October 1675."[8]

> Provoking Evils.
>
> Whereas the Most Wise and Holy God for Several Years past, hath not only warned us by his Word, but chastized us with his Rods, Inflicting upon us many general (though lesser) Judgements; But we have neither heard the Word nor Rod as we ought, so as to be effectually humbled for our sins to repent of them, reform and amend our wayes: Hence it is the Righteous God hath heightened

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[7] Nathaniel B. Shurtleff, Records, II, 34-35.

[8] William H. Whitmore, ed., The Colonial Laws of Massachusetts, reprinted from the ed. of 1672, with supplements through 1686 (Rockwell and Churchill, Boston, 1890), 232-237.

our Calamity, and given Commission to the Barbarous Heathen to rise up against us, and to become a smart Rod, and Severe Scourge to us, in Burning and Depopulating Several hopeful Plantations, Murdering many of our People of all sorts, and seeming as it were to cast us off, and putting us in shame, and not going forth with our Armies, hereby speaking aloud to us to search and try our wayes and turn again unto the Lord our God from whom we have departed with a great Backsliding.

1. The Court apprehending there is too great a neglect of Discipline in the Churches, and especially respecting those that are their Children, through the non-acknowledgement of them according to the Order of the Gospel, in watching over them, as well as Catechizing of them. . . .

2. Whereas there is manifest Pride openly appearing amongst us in that long Hair like Womens Hair is worn by some men, either their own, or others Hair made into Perewigs: And by some Women wearing Borders of Hair, and their Cutting, Curling, and Immodest laying out their Hair, which practice doth prevail and increase especially amongst the younger sort.

This Court doth Declare against this ill custome as Offensive to them, and divers sober Christians amongst us, and therefore do hereby exhort and advise all persons to use moderation in this respect; and further do impower all Grand juries to present to the County Court such Persons whether Male or Female; whom they shall judge to exceed in the Premises; and the County Court are hereby Authorized to proceed against such Delinquents either by Admonition, Fine, or Correction, according to their good discretion.

3. Notwithstanding the wholsome Laws already made by this Court, for restreining Excess in Apparrel, yet through Corruption in many, and neglect of due Execution of those Laws, the evil of pride in Apparrel, both in the poorer fort, and vain, new strange Fashions both in poor and rich, with naked Breasts and Arms, or as it were pinnioned with the Addition of Superfluous Ribbons, both on Hair and Apparrel, for Redress whereof; It is Ordered by this Court, that the County Courts from time to time do give strict Charge to present all such persons as they shall judge to exceed in that kinde, and if the Grand-Jury shall neglect their duty herein, the County Courts shall impose a Fine upon them at their discretion.

4. Whereas it may be found amongst us . . . the open meeting of Quakers, whose Damnable Heresies, Abominable Idolatries, are hereby Promoted, Embraced and Practiced to the Scandal of Religion, Hazard of Souls, and Provocation of Divine Jealousie against his People; For Prevention and Reformation whereof:

It is Ordered by this Court and the Authority thereof; That every Person found at a Quakers Meeting shall be apprehended Ex Officio by the Constable, and by Warrant from a Magistrate or Commissioner, shall be committed to the house of Correction, and there to have the Discipline of the House applied to them, and be kept to work with Bread and Water for three dayes and then released; Or else shall pay five pounds in Mony as a Fine to the County for such offence. . . .

5. Whereas there is much prophaneness amongst us in persons turning their backs upon the publick Worship before it be finished, and the Blessing pronounced.

It is Ordered by this Court; That the Officers of the Churches, or Select Men, shall take care to prevent such Disorders, by appointing persons to shut the Meeting-House Doors, or any other meet way to attain the end.

6. Whereas there is much Disorder and Rudeness in Youth in many Congregations in Time of the worship of God, whereby Sin and Prophaneness is greatly increased; For Reformation whereof;

It is Ordered by this Court; That the Select men do appoint such place or places in the Meeting-House for Children or Youth to sit in, where they may be most together, and in publick view; and that the Officers of the Churches or Select Men do appoint some Grave and Sober Purson or Persons to take a particular care of, and inspection over them; who are hereby required to present a List of the Names of such who by their own Observance or the Information of others shall be found Delinquent to the next Magistrate or Court, who are impowred for the first Offence to admonish them, for the second Offence to impose a Fine of five shillings on their Parents or Governours, or order the said Children to be whipt, and if Incorrigible, to be whipt with ten stripes, or sent to the House of Correction for three days.

7. Whereas the Name of God is prophaned by Common Swearing and Cursing in ordinary communication, which is a Sin that grows amongst us, and many hear such Oaths and Curses, and Conceals the same from Authority, for Reformation whereof:

It is Ordered by this Court, that the Laws already in Force against this Sin be vigorously prosecuted, and as Addition thereunto;

It is further Ordered, that all such persons who shall at any time hear prophane Oaths and Curses spoken by any person or persons, and shall neglect to disclose the same to some Magistrate, Commissioner, or Constable, such persons shall Incurr the same penalty provided in that Law against Swearers.

8. Whereas The shameful and Scandalous Sin of Excessive drinking Tipling, and Company keeping in Taverns and Ordinaries grows upon us, for Redress whereof;

It is Commended to the Care of the Respective County Courts not to Licence more publick houses then are absolutely necessary in any Town, and to take Care that none be Licenst but persons of Approved Sobriety and Fidelity to Law and good Order. And that Licensed houses be regulated in their Improvement for the refreshing and Enterteinment of Travailers and Strangers only, and all Town dwellers are hereby strictly Injoyned and required to forbear spending their Time or Estates in such Common houses of Enterteinment to drink and tipple upon penalty of five shillings for every offense, or if poor, to be whipt as the discretion of the Judge, not exceeding five stripes. . . .

9. Whereas there is a woful Breach of the Fifth Commandment to be found amongst us, in Contempt of Authority, Civil, Ecclesiastical, and Domestical:

This Court doth Declare that Sin is highly provoking to the Lord, against which he hath born severe Testimony in his Word. . . . And therefore do strictly Require & Command all Persons under this Government to reform so great an Evil, least God from Heaven punish offenders herein, by some Remarkable judgments.

And it is further Ordered, that all County Courts, Magistrates, Commissioners, Select man, and Grand-Jurors, according to their several Capacities do take strict Care that the Laws already made and provided in this Case, be duely Executed, and particularly, that Evil of Inferiours absenting themselves out of the Families whereunto they belong, in the night, and meeting with Corrupt Company without leave . . . and to the great grief of their Superiours, which evil practice is of a very perillous Nature, and the Root of much Disorder.

It is therefore Ordered by this Court, that whatever Inferiour shall be Legally Convicted of such an Evil practice, such persons shall be punished with Admonition for the first offence, with Fine not exceeding Ten Shillings, or whipping, not exceeding five stripes for all offences of like Nature afterward.

10. Whereas the Sin of Idleness (which is a Sin of Sodom) doth greatly Increase, notwithstanding the wholsome Laws in Force against the same. As an Addition to that Law.

This Court doth Order, that the Constable with such other person or persons, whom the Select men shall Appoint, shall inspect particular Families, and present a List of the Names of all idle persons to the Select man, who are hereby strictly required to proceed with them, as already the Law directs, and in Case of

Obstinacy, by charging the Constable with them, who shall Convey them to some Magistrate, by him to be Committed to the house of Correction.

11. Whereas there is Oppression in the midst of us, not only by such Shopkeepers and Merchants, who set excessive prizes on their Goods, but also by Mechanicks and Day Labourers, who are daily guilty of that evil, For redress whereof . . .

It is Ordered by this Court; That any person that Judgeth himself Oppressed by Shop keepers or Merchants in setting Excessive prizes on their goods have hereby liberty to make their Complaint to the Grand Jurors . . . and if the Court upon Examination judge the person complaining injured, they shall cause the offender to return double the overplus, or more than the equal price to the injured person, and also impose a Fine on the Offender at the discretion of the court. . . .

12. Whereas there is a loose and sinful customes of going or Riding from Town to town, and that oft times men and women together, upon pretense of going to Lectures, but it appears to be meerly to Drink and Revil in ordinarie and taverns, which is in itself scandalous, and is to be feared a notable means to debauch our Youth, and hazard the Chastity of such as are drawn forth thereunto; For Prevention whereof:

It is ordered by this Court; That all single persons, who meerly for their pleasure take such Journies, and frequent such Ordinaries, shall be reputed and accounted Riotous and Unsober persons, and of ill Behaviour, and shall be liable to be Summoned to appear before any County Court, Magistrate or Commissioner, and being thereof convicted shall give Bond and sufficient sureties for the good Behaviour in twenty Pounds, and upon refusal so to do, shall be committed to Prison for ten days, or pay a fine of forty shillings for each offence.

4. Thomas Thacher, first minister of the Old South Church in Boston, preached a sermon entitled *A Fast of God's chusing*, on a fast day proclaimed "by publick authority, on October 26, 1674":[9]

And is this all that God requires, to put on a sad face and sad Clothes, and sad thoughts for a day, or to fetch a sigh or two in your Closets, and pray in your Familyes, and go to the publick worship, and when the day is over to be as you were before, not making Conscience of answering the expectation justly raised upon your profession, but the proud is proud still, and the filthy is filthy still? this is not the Fast which God hath chosen, if you will shew me your Fasts, where are the fruits thereof? but sin is getting ground upon us notwithstanding our Fasts, Schisme, Heresy, Envy, Malice, and strife notwithstanding your Fasts, and all our dayes of Atonement they prevail not to consume, waste and destroy these abominations out of the Land, these are not the Fasts which God hath chosen; Gods Fasts will break the heart for sin and from sin; But your Fasts keep the heart whole, and the life of sin whole within you, never look for a tender heart, if you can but fast away the sense of your sin, and sorrow for sin, & your care & diligent endeavours to walk with God. My heart akes to think of the unfruitful Fasts that are amongst us as to the body of this people, though I know there are precious Souls amongst us that mourn for these things.

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[9] Thomas Thacher, *A Fast of Gods chusing, Plainly opened, For the help of those poor in spirit, whose hearts are set to seek the Lord their God in New-England, in the solemn Ordinance of A Fast* (Boston, 1678), 8.

But ah New-England, New-England! how wilt thou be able to bear the burthen of thy Fasts? There is not a Soul that hears me but fasts either the Fast that God hath chosen, or that he hath not chosen. You doe fast, and therefore this is your profession, that you are sensible of the displeasure of God hanging over your heads, and that you are sorry with all your hearts that you have provoked God; this is the profession of your actions, or else what do you here? You profess that you doe with all your heart entertain motions of love and kindness, where there hath been strife; and doe profess you forgive them, as God hath forgiven you. and that your hearts are full of compassion to afflicted ones, and that your hands shall be open to relieve tham according to your ability. Can any of your souls come to seek mercy from God, and have your hearts shut up against the poor and needy, without a great hypocrisie? How doe your hearts work toward these things? Consider it in the fear of God.

C. Glimpses of Puritan Life

1. Although Matthew Cradock never came to New England, he was elected the first governor of the New England Company (later the Massachusetts Bay Company) in its infancy in England in 1628. A wealthy London merchant, Cradock supported the Company financially and was instrumental in securing the transfer of the

government of Massachusetts Bay from London to Boston in 1630. John Endicott, Cradock's cousin, was sent by the Company to settle in New England in 1628. First in Salem and later in Boston, Endicott was active for many years as deputy governor of Massachusetts Bay. The following selection is drawn from a letter dated February 16, 1629 written to Endictoo by Cradock:[10]

> We are very confident of your best endeavours for the general good, and we doubt not but God will in mercy give a blessing upon our labors; and we trust you will not be unmindful of the main end of our Plantation, by endeavouring to bring the Indians to the knowledge of the Gospel; which that it may be the speedier and better effected, the earnest desire of our whole Company is, that you have a diligent and watchful eye over our own people, that they live unblamable and without reproof, and demean themselves justly and courteous towards the Indians, thereby to draw them to affect our persons, and consequently our religion; as also to endeavour to get some of their children to train up to reading and consequently to religion. . . .

2. On April 12, 1631 the Massachusetts General Court proclaimed:[11]

> It is ordered, that there shalbe a watch of 4 kept every night att Dorchester, & another of 4 att Waterton, the watches to begin att sunsett.
>
> Further, it is ordered, that if any person shall shoote of any peece after the watch is sett, hee shall forfeict 40^s, or if the Court shall judge him unable, then to be whipped; the second fault to be punished by the Court as an offence of an higher nature. . . .
>
> It is ordered, that every captaine shall traine his companie on Saterday in everie weeke.

3. Thomas Dudley, in 1631, wrote a massive letter to the Countess

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[10] Governor Cradock's Letter to Captain Endicott as reprinted in Alexander Young (ed.) Chronicles of the First Planters of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, From 1623 to 1636 (Charles C. Little and James Brown, Boston, 1846), 133-134.

[11] Nathaniel B. Shurtleff, Records, I, 85. (Abbreviations spelled out.)

of Lincoln in England. This document, more a journal than a letter, covered events which had occurred in New England from 1630-1631. Dudley, an important political force in Massachusetts, deputy governor and later Major General of the colony, found time to write this advice to the wife of the Earl of Lincoln in whose household he had previously been the steward:[12]

> The like accident of fire also befell Mr. Sharpe and Mr. Colborne upon the 17th of this March; both whose houses (which were as good and as well furnished as the most in the Plantation) were in two hours' space burned to the ground, together with much of their household stuff . . . God so pleasing to exercise us with corrections of this kind, as he hath done with others. For the prevention whereof in our new town [called Cambridge in 1638], intended this summer to be builded, we have ordered that no man there shall build his chimney with wood, nor cover his house with thatch; which was readily assented unto, for that divers other houses have been burned since our arrival, (the fire always beginning in the wooden chimneys,) and some English wigwams, which have taken fire in the roofs covered with thatch or boughs.
>
> But now having some leisure to discourse of the motives for other men's coming to this place, or their abstaining from it, after my brief manner I say this: that if any come hither to plant for worldly ends, that can live well at home, he commits an error, of which he will soon repent him; but if for spiritual, and that no particular obstacle hinder his removal, he may find here what may well content him, viz. materials to build, fuel to burn, ground to plant, seas and rivers to fish in, a pure air to breathe in, good water to drink, till wine or beer can be made; which, together with the cows, hogs and goats brought hither already, may suffice for food; for as for fowl and venison, they are dainties here as well as in England. For clothes and bedding, they must bring them with them, till time and industry produce them here. In a word, we yet enjoy little to be envied, but endure much to be pitied in the sickness and mortality of our people. And I do the more willingly use this open and plain dealing, lest other men should fall short of their expectations when they come hither, as we to our great prejudice did, by means of letters sent us from hence into England, wherein honest

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[12] Thomas Dudley to the Lady Bridget, Countess of Lincoln (dated 28 March 1631) as reprinted in Alexander Young, Chronicles, 338-339, 323-324.

men, out of a desire to draw over others to them, wrote somewhat hyperbolically of many things here. If any godly men, out of religious ends, will come over to help us in the good work we are about, I think they cannot dispose of themselves nor of their estates more to God's glory and the furtherance of their own reckoning. . . .

4. On July 2, 1633 the Court issues this order:[13]

> It is ordered, that noe person shall sell either wine or stronge water without leave from the governor or Deputy Governor. This order to take place a fortnight hence, & after the constable of the same plantation hath published the same, & that noe man shall sell, or (being in a course of tradeing,) give any stronge water to any Indean.

5. In the Records for 1635 are the following two entries:[14]

> It is ordered, that it shalbe lawfull for M^{r} Leveridge to transporte ten bushells of corne out of this jurisdiction, notwithstanding any former order to the contrary. . . .
>
> It is ordered, that there shalbe a pound made in every plantation within this jurisdiction before the 8th day of this moneth, & that such swine as shalbe found in any corne feild shalbe impounded, & notice giuen to the owner thereof, if hee can be knowen, or otherwise to be made knowen att the nexte lecture; & if within three dayes after notice giuen they be not owned, it shalbe lawfull for the party whoe hadd the harmes done to gett the swine prized by two of his neighbors, & then hee shall have liberty to sell the said swine, & pay himselfe duble damages, being judged by two indifferent men. The like recompence is to be made for such swine as are owned before publique notice gyven thereof; this order to extend to all ffermes, but not to lyttle small parcells of corne of an acre or lesse, planted remote from townes & unfenced. Further, as for such swine as cannot be impounded, it shalbe alwfull for the party whoe hath the harmes done to kill the said swine, & pay himselfe for harmes, & soe to returne the remainder thereof to the owner of the swine; & if any swine shall escape out of the pound, or be taken out, the owner thereof shall, notwithstanding, be lyeable to pay damages, as before mentioned, if hee can be knowen.

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[13] Nathaniel B. Shurtleff, Records, I, 106. (Abbreviations spelled out.)

[14] Ibid., I, 148, 150. (Abbreviations spelled out.)

6. The General Court issued the following decrees in March, 1636-7:[15]

> Whereas many complaints have bene made to this Court, both formerly & at present of the great neglect of all sorts of people of useing the lawfull & necessary meanes of their safety, especially in this time of so much danger from the Indians, it is therefore ordered, that the millitary officers in every towne shall provide that the watches bee dewely kept in places most fit for common safetie, & also a ward on the Lords dayes, the same to begin before the end of this first month, & to bee continued until the end of September; & that every person above the age of 18 yeares (except magistrats & elders of the churches) shalbee compellable to this servise, either in person or by some substitute, to bee alowed by him that hath the charge of the watch or warde for that time, upon paine of 5^s for every default, to bee levyed by distresse by the sruveyar of the armes, & to bee implyed for light & fyer, & such necessaries, by the discretion of the millitary officers.
>
> And all such persons (except such as some Courte or the counsell shall see cause to dispence with, & except those of Boston who shall hearin bee ordered by the magistrates there) shall come to the publike assemblyes with their musketts, or other peeces fit for servise, furnished with match, powder, & bullets, upon paine of 12^d for every default, to bee levyed & imployed as aforesaid.
>
> And no person shall travell above one mile from his dweling house, except in places wheare other houses are neare together, without some armes, vpon paine of 12^d for every default, to bee levyed & imployed as aforesaid.
>
> And every towne shall provide a sufficient watch house before the last of the 5th month next, upon paine of 5£.

7. Time and time again in the Records of the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay, the General Court records its approval of the surveying of boundaries. March 12, 1637-8:[16]

> It is agreed, that Mr. Humfrey his ground shall begin at the

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[15] Ibid., I, 190. (Abbreviations spelled out.)

[16] Ibid., I, 226-227. (Abbreviations spelled out.)

clifte, in the way to Marble Head, which is the bound betwixt Salem & Linn. & so along the line between the said townes to the rocks, one mile, by estimation, to a great red oake marked, from which the said marked tree, all under & over theise rocks upon a streight line to the running brooke by Thomas Smyths house, all the which said ground wee alow him for his owne, & so from Thomas Smyths to the sea, in case the ground appears to bee Mr. Humfreys upon which Thomas Smyth & Willi: Wytters houses stands, with the ground which they have broken up by their houses. By the joynt agreement of

WILLI: TRASKE,
NATHA: TURNER,
RICH^{r}D WRIGHT,
ABRAH: PALMER.

8. In the Records of the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay, June 3, 1645:[17]

It is ordered, that every towne within this jurisdiction shall provide a pecke & a bushell, as also for waights a quarter, halfe a pound, 1, 2, 4, 7, & 14£, as also a meate yard, all to be made by the standard att Boston, & sealed by James Pen, the marshall, before the General Court, in September, under the penalty of fforty shillings for every defect.

9. John Josselyn, at the time an English traveller and later influential in the political affairs of Maine, made two trips to New England. From his accounts of his first voyage in 1638:[18]

Having refreshed myself for a day or two upon Noddles-Island, I crossed the Bay in a small Boat to Boston, which then was rather a Village, than a Town, there being not above Twenty or thirty houses; and presenting my respects to Mr. Winthorpe the Governour, and to Mr. Cotton the Teacher of Boston Church, to whom I delivered from Mr. Francis Quarles the poet, the

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[16] Ibid., I, 226-227. (Abbreviations spelled out.)

[17] Ibid., I, 148. (Abbreviations spelled out.)

[18] John Josselyn, An Account of Two Voyages to New England, Made during the years 1638, 1663 (William Venzie, Boston, 1865), 20.

Translation of the 16, 25, 51, 88, 113, and 137. Psalms into English Meeter, for his approbation, being civilly treated by all I had occasion to converse with, I returned in the Evening to my lodging.

10. When Josselyn returned to New England in 1663 he recorded the following:[19]

Two miles Northeast from Roxbury, and Forty miles from New-Plimouth, in the latitude of 42 or 43 degrees and 10 minutes, in the bottom of Massachusets-Bay in Boston (whose longitude is 315 degrees, or as others will 322 degrees and 30 seconds.) So called from a Town in Lincolnshire, which in the Saxons time bare the name of St. Botolph, and is the Metropolis of this Colony, or rather of the whole Countrey, situated upon a Peninsula, about four miles in compass, almost square, and invironed with the Sea, saving one small Isthmus which gives access to other Towns by land on the South-side. The Town hath two hills of equal height on the frontire part thereof next the Sea, the one well fortified on the superficies with some Artillery mounted, commanding any Ship as she sails into the Harbour within the still Bay; the other hill hath a very strong battery built of whole Timber and fill'd with earth, at the descent of the hill in the extreamest part thereof, betwixt these two strong Arms, lyes a large Cove or Bay, on which the chiefest part of the Town is built to the Northwest is a high mountain that out-tops all, with its three little rising hills on the summit, called Tramount, this is furnished with a Beacon and great Guns, from hence you may overlook all the Islands in the Bay, and descry such Ships as are upon the Coast: the houses are for the most part raised on the Seabanks and wharfed out with great industry and cost, many of them standing upon piles, close together on each side the streets as in London, and furnished with many fair shops, their materials are Brick, Stone, Lime, handsomely contrived, with three meeting Houses or Churches, and a Town-house built upon pillars where the Merchants may confer, in the Chambers above they keep their monethly Courts. Their streets are many and large, paved with pebble stone, and the South-side adorned with Gardens and Orchards. The Town is rich and very populous, much frequented by strangers, here is the dwelling of their Governour. On the North-west and North-east two constant Fairs are kept for daily Traffick thereunto. On the South there is a small, but pleasant Common where the Gallants a little before Sun-set walk with their Marmalet-Madams, as we do in Morefields, &c. till the nine a clock Bell rings them home to their respective habitations, when presently the Constables walk their rounds to see good orders kept, and to take up loose people. . . .

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[19] Ibid., 124-125.

11. The Diary of John Hull (1624-1682), mintmaster and treasurer of the colony of Massachusetts Bay, contains the following entries for 1668:[20]

18th of 12th. A comet was seen in the south-west, much like a bundle of twigs or a rod: no star discerned with it, Appeared about seven o'clock in the evening; went down before ten o'clock. It was seen but three or four nights, we supposed partly by reason of dark weather, and also because of the new moon. At the first night, it gave a pretty great light.

1668, April 3. Was an earthquake about nine in the morning, very sensibly to be discerned, yet without any noise. Its continuance was about two minutes.

12. Hull's Diary, 1672:[21]

9ber 10. A very great easterly storm, and, being about the full moon, brought in so great a tide as hath not been this thirty-six years; filled most of the cellars near the water-side; flowed more or less into many warehouses; greatly damnified many merchants in their goods and in their wharves; and one vessel cast away in Ipswidge Bay, going to Black Point, and seven persons drowned thereby.

13. Hull's Diary, 1675:[22]

4th of 3d. A (part of a) ship belonging to Lyme, this morning arrived from Virginia, was blown up; viz., the great cabin. Sundry wounded sorely; Mr. John Frethe taken up dead; Mr. Smith, the merchant, died the same day; Capt. Sam. Scarlet, the next day. Their bones much shattered. Sundry others with broken bones, and sorely hurt.

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[20] John Hull, Diary, as reprinted in American Antiquarian Society, Transactions and Collections (Printed for the society, 1857), 225-226.

[21] Ibid., 234.

[22] Ibid., 240.

5th, 3d. One _____, a merchant, of a ship from Lisbon riding at Nantascot, sailing in the boat yesterday, about the time that the other ship was blown up here, they overset the boat, and he was drowned. Brought up to Boston this day.

14. Hull's Diary, 1680:[23]

Dec. 22. About half an hour past three o'clock in the morning, Mr. Sampson Sheaffe's house fell on fire by some neglect within. Some of them were forced to leap out of the chamber-window; yet all their lives preserved. Two other houses were burned with it, and one blown up: and about half an hour after five, the same morning. Mr. Mich. Page his ship, lying at Capt. Ben. Gillam's wharf, fell on fire by a bad hearth, and was not mastered without much damage to the ship and lading and to said Gillam's warehouse.

15. On May 18, 1680, Symon Bradstreet, Governor of Massachusetts, sent a letter to the Lords of his Majesties Privy Council in London answering inquiries which that august body, charged with administering the affairs of "Foreigne Plantations," had previous made concerning the state of affairs in Massachusetts Bay. The following selections are exerpts from that letter answering the Privy Council's questions point by point:[24]

An Answer of the Governor of his Majesties Colony of the Mattachusetts in New England to severall heads of Inquiry pursuant to the Order of the Right Honoble the Lords of his majesties privy Council, appointed a Comittee for trade and forreign plantations. . . .

11°. The principall Townes of trade within our Government are Boston Charlestown and Salem, some little trade there is for

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[23] Ibid., 248.

[24] Governor of the Massachusetts to the Lords of His Ma'ties Pr. Councill, (Boston 18 May 1680), as reprinted in Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, 3d. Series (Charles C. Little and James Brown, Boston 1843), VIII, 332, 335-337.

Country people at Ipswich & Newberry &c^a. the buildings in the Country are generally of timber, many fortified with strong pallisados a good security against the Indians arrows and small shot: In Boston there are some houses of Brick and stone of competent strength and largeness sutable to the condition of the Owners: Since the last great fire in Boston, that consumed about two hundred houses besides warehouses &c^a. It is endeavoured and ordered that all should bee built in the places thereof with brick or Stone; which yet will hardly bee attained by reason of the poverty of the Inhabitants. . . .

14°. Wee have few or no manufactures as yet vendible in Forreign parts (at least considerable) the Cloth, both woolen and Linnen, Shoes, hats &c^a. made here are used and spent in the Country; our Staple comodities are fish, some peltry mostly traded with, or brought in by our Neighbours, horses, provisions, Cyder, boards timber pipestaves, mackaril and Fish hath formerly been more beneficiall for trade with other his Majesties plantations in America, then now they are, wherewith our merchants produced Sugars Rhum Indigo cotton wool Tobacco &c^a. which they transport usually in their own Vessels to England; Some pipe staves, fish mackarel &c^a. wee send to Madera and western Islands, which procures wines for the use of the Country, and some to trade with other English plantations.

Wee have good timber for Shipping tarr pitch and Iron made in the Country, though in noe great Quantity, hempe and Flax grow's well here, but labour so deare that it can not bee made a commodity to send to other parts; but is onely improved by the Country people for their own occasions: Wee have all our Rigging for Ships generally out of England much cheaper then it can bee made here, the truth is the Country in generall is very poore, and very hard it is for them to cloath themselves and Familys, especially since the great charges and taxes have been upon them, by reason of the late Indian warr, tho for victuall they make a reasonable good shift being a very laborious and industrious people and having Lands of their own. For at our first comming hither and ever since Lands were allotted and Townships granted freely without any purchase or reservacon of Rent, otherwise it was foreseen, the people would have been discouraged & the Country not Subdued and improved as now it is. The Comodities imported hither from England are of all sorts generally which that Land affords and may amount to the value of Forty or Fifty thousand pounds yearely. . . .

21°. It's hard to give a true and certain estimate of merchants Estates, which many cannot do themselves; but there are two or three in our Corporation that may bee worth Sixteen or eighteen thousand pounds apeice, some few others worth eight or ten thousand pounds apeice, and some worth little or nothing;

Few planters or Country people have any great Estates, hee is accounted a rich man in the Country that is worth one thousand or Fifteen hundred pounds, where Land is esteemed far above the true worth, or proportionable to the rent that it will give, and it must bee a very great stock of cattle that will amount to five hundred pounds, and more then ordinarily any man in the Country keepes, they bearing no greater price here then in England if so much, the wealth of our Colony is rather in conceit then in reality.

22°. There about one hundred or one hundred and twenty Ships Sloopes Katches and other Vessells that trade to and from hence yearly of our own or English built, most of them belonging to this Colony; wee have eight or ten Ships of one hundred ton's or upwards, three or four of two hundred ton's or more, and about Forty ton's; Six or eight English Ships do usually come hither yearly belonging to the Kingdom of England, bringing comodities of all sorts from thence.

16. In the Records of the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay, March 16, 1680-81:[25]

As an addition to the law, title Inkeepers, section the first, it is ordered by this Court and the authority thereof, that for the future the selectman of all tounes shall approove of all persons to be licensed before licence be granted to any of them by the County Court to keepe such publick house, or be retayler of strong licquors in any of the said tounes, & all persons shall annually renew their license at the spring Court in their respective counties.

2. Before any license be granted, the grand jury shall bring in their presentments, and in case any licensed persons shall be presented or prosecuted by the selectmen, or any other, for transgressing the law referring to such persons, and be legally convicted, besides the penalty which the law appoints as a punishment for their misdemeanor, their license shall not be renewed untill the fine be payd; and upon a second conviction, they shall forfeit their license; and the persons annually licensed, after the first day of October next, shall not exceed, i.e., in Boston, sixe wine tavernes, ten inholders, and eight retaylors for wine & strong licquors out of doores; in Salem, wine tavernes two, inhoulders fower, retajlers for wine & strong licquors fowre; in Charls Toune three publick houses and one

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[25] Nathaniel B. Shurtleff, Records, V, 305. (Abbreviations spelled out.)

retajler for wine &c, out of doores; in Ipswich, two publicque houses and one retayler for wine; in Glocester, two; Lynn, two; Hingham, two; Newbery, two publick houses; and in no other toune in this jurisdiction more than one such publick house or retayler. . . .

17. On October 12, 1681, the Massachusstts Court declared itself on the matter of bread:[26]

> In answer to the complaint of the loafe bread bakers, it is ordered by this Court, that the freemen of the toune of Boston, & such other tounes as shall have any considerable use of the bakers trade, shall annually, or otherwise as they judge best, make choyce of three or more meete persons in their oune toune, to inquire into the midle price of wheate, how it is sold by quantities, & they, or the major part of them in such towne agreeing thereon, shall publish to all the loafe bread bakers & clarkes of the market in the toune once every moneth, or as often as they see cause, the midle price of wheate, at which price the said bakers shall bake their bread for the following moneth, or untill a new price be declared; and that when the clarkes of the market doe meete with crustic and stale bread, they shall not take it away as forfeited, except it want one sixteenth part of the weight.

18. From the Records also comes this entry, dated May 24, 1682:[27]

> This Court taking into consideration that by the frequent exportation of our New England coyne out of the country, whereby commerce and trade is very much obstructed, as an expedient to keepe money in the country, it is ordered, that all peices of 8 as pillar, civil, & Mexico coyne, that are good silver, shall passe amongst us as currant money of New England, according to their weight in the present New England coyne.

19. And on October 11, 1682:[28]

> Whereas there are in sundry of our touns, & especially in

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[26] *Ibid.*, 322-323. (Abbreviations spelled out.)

[27] *Ibid.*, 351. (Abbreviations spelled out.)

[28] *Ibid.*, 373.

Boston, many idle persons in families, as well as other single persons, who are greatly, if not altogether, negligent in their particcular callings, and some that doe not follow any lawful imployment for a livelyhood, but mispend their time and that litle which they carne to the impoverishing, if not utter undoing, of themselves and families, for prevention whereof, it is ordered by this Court and the authority thereof, that the tythingmen in each toune shall inspect all such families and persons, and speedily returne their names to the selectmen of the toune where they dwell, who shall forthwith returne to the next magistrate, & (if in Boston) to any of the magistrates or comissioners there, who are heereby impowred to issue out warrants to the constable of the respective tounes to require such person or family to worke in or about any imployment they are capable of in the toune or place where they resyde, and if they refuse to be regulated, as aforesaid, then to be sent by said authority to the house of correction, and there receive according to the orders of that house, and kept to worke; and that such persons and families may be provided for, it is ordered, that all their cleare earnings shall (by said selectmen or their order) be laid out in necessaries suitable for them or their families use and releife, and that their wages shall from time to time be stated by said selectmen; and if any person or persons shall thinke themselues wronged thereby, they may complaine to the County Court for releife.

20. In the Records for the year 1684 is this decision of the court:[29]

In answer to the petition of Samuel Sewall, Esq. humbly shewing that his house of wood in Boston, at the hill where the Reverend Mr. John Cotton formerly dwelt, which house is considerably distant from the other buildings, & standeth very bleake, he humbly desiring the favour of this Court to grant him liberty to build a small proch of wood, about seven ffoote square, to break of the winde from the fore doore of said house, the Court grants his request.

21. From the Records, an entry for September 11, 1684:[30]

This Court, having been informed that the number of persons allowed to be licensed in Boston for keeping of house of enterteinement, and retayling wine & licquors, &c, without doers, are not sufficient for the accommodation of the inhabitants and trade of the toune, by reason whereof sundry inconveniencies doe acrew, —

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[29] Ibid., 456.

[30] Ibid., 450. (Abbreviations spelled out.)

Doe order, that the County Court of Suffolke may license five or sixe more publick houses in Boston, the selectmen of the toune of Boston yearely approoving of the persons as meet & fitt for this imployment.

22. Samuel Sewall, minister and jurist, kept careful records of contemporary events in his Diary, which is one of the most valuable sources of historical information for the period 1674 to 1729:[31]

Sept^{r}. 1. [1686] Went to Natick Lecture, Simon Gates shewing me the way; called as went at Noah Wiswall's; came home accompanied by Major Gookin and his Son Sam. till the way parted. Mr. Dan^{l}. Gookin preached; were about 40 or 50 Men at most, and a pretty many Women and Children [at the Indian Meeting-house]. Call'd at the President's as came home, who was very pleasant; Excus'd my giving himself and the Deputy President occasion to say what they did on Thorsday night. Met with there, Capt. Blackwell and Mr. Hubbard and his wife, with whom I came over the Neck. . . .

Monday, Sept^{r}. 6. Artillery Training. Not one old Captain there. . . .

Monday, Sept^{r}. 13, 1686. Mr. Cotton Mather preaches the Election Sermon for the Artillery, at Charlestown, from Ps. 144. 1. made a very good Discourse. President and Deputy President there. As I went in the morn I had Sam. to the Latin School, which is the first time. Mr. Chiever received him gladly. The Artillery Company had like to have been broken up; the animosity so high between Charlestown and Cambridge Men about the Place of Training. . . .

Thorsday, Oct^{r}. 14. Many Guns fired, and at night a Bonfire on Noddles Iland, in remembrance of the King's Birth-day; 'tis the more remarkable because Wednesday Oct^{r}. 13th was the day the Generall Court was adjourn'd to at 8 aclock. Upon Thorsday before

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[31] Samuel Sewall, Diary, as republished in Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, 5th Series (Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston, 1878), I, 150-151, 154, 167, 337, 412, 460, 481.

Lecture the Guns fired; some marched throw the Streets with Viols and Drums, playing and beating by turns.

Satterday, Oct^{r} 16. Accompanied Judge Stoughton as far as Dorchester Burying place, at his return from the Eastward.

Monday, Oct^{r} 18. Pretty deal of Rain. Sabbath, Oct^{r} 17. Mr. Edw. Taylor preaches in the Forenoon.

Sabbath, Feb. 6. Between $\frac{1}{2}$ hour after 11. and $\frac{1}{2}$ hour after 12. at Noon, many Scores of great Guns fired at the Castle and Town, suppose upon account of the King's entring on the third year of his Reign.

Feb. 6, 168$\frac{6}{7}$. Between 3. and 4. P.M. Mr. Willard baptiseth my Son, whom I named Stephen. Day was Louring after the storm, but not freezing. Child shrunk at the water but cryed not. His Brother Sam. shew'd the Midwife who carried him, the way to the Pew, I held him up. Thomas Bumsted was baptiz'd at the same time. This day the Lord's Sup̄er was administered at the middle and North Meeting-Houses; the ratling of the Guns during almost all the time, gave them great disturbance. 'Twas never so in Boston before.

Dec. 1, 1690. The Pink Eagle 80 Tuns, Joseph Buckly Master, Loaden for Jamaica, was burnt in the Harbour, very little sav'd besides a new Cable; came by Carelessness. Owners, Capt. Checkly, his Brother Sam. Mr. Foxcroft.

Sept. 17, 1695. Gov. Bradstreet has the remainder of his Goods put on board Mr. Graften; The House being empty, I prevail with him and his Lady to walk to our house, and wish us joy of it. They sat there near an hour with Mrs. Corwin and Wharton. Gov. Bradstreet drank a glass or two of wine, eat some fruit, took a pipe of Tabacco in the new Hall, and wish'd me joy of the house, and desired our prayers; came to us over the little Stone-bridge; went away between 12. and 1. . . . .

Sixth-day, Oct^{r} 1. 1697. Jer. Baclhar's sons came for us to go to the Island. My Wife, through Indisposition, could not goe: But I carried Sam. Hañah, Elisa, Joseph, Mary and Jane Tapan: I prevail'd with Mr. Willard to goe, He carried Simon, Elisabeth, William, Margaret, and Elisa Tyng: Had a very comfortable Passage thither and home again; though against Tide: Had first Butter, Honey, Curds and Cream. For Diñer, very good Rost Lamb, Turkey, Fowls, Ap̄lepy. After Diner sung the 121 Psalm. Note. A Glass of spirits my Wife sent stood upon a Joint-Stool which, Simon W. jogging, it fell down and broke all to shivers: I said twas a lively Emblem of our Fragility and Mortality. When came home met Capt Scottow led between two: He came to visit me and fell down and hurt himself; bruis'd his Nose, within a little of our House.

Tuseday, June 28, 1698. Court at Salem, Major Brown president; were remov'd to the Ship Tavern and candles lighted; a cry of Fire was made. A Girl drawing Rum in a little Warehouse of Mr. Lyndon's, or looking after a cask that leak'd, the candle fired it, which took the cask and broke it up with a Report, so catch'd Cotton and fired Mr. Willoughbys house in the Garret of which was a Barrel of Powder, that taking fire blew off the Roof and every much dispersed the flaming partickles; much of which was thrown on Major Brown's house over the way, the wind carrying it thither so that and his warehouse were quickly burnt down, and much Money and Goods lost with the Buildings. Five houses in all burnt, Mr. Hirst's for one. This is the first considerable Fire that ever was in Salem. It seems the stroke makes a deep impression on Maj^{r} Brown. Has lost 3 or four Thousand pounds.

SECTION IV

LATER THEORY

In this section you will once again be asked to consider Puritan economic and political thought. Now, however, the selections date from the period after 1660. As you read, keep in mind the initial discussion of these ideas as presented in Section II.

A. Economics

1. John Danforth, minister of the Dorchester church until his death in 1730 at the age of 70, published in 1704 a sermon entitled, The Vile Prophanations of Prosperity By the Degenerate Among the People of God:[1]

> When the professing people of God begin & go on to Profess Backward, tis time for the Bells of Providence to Ring Backward. Years of Calamity and Captivity are the Genuine Offspring of the numerous Sins of Peace & Liberty; Bitter Potions are best, when sweet Meats surfeit; when feeble Children cannot bear great Height but grow dizzy, their merciful Parents are wont to take them down: to turn Blessings into Idols, is the way to have them clap'd under a Blast: If the Lord loves his People, he will deliver those Weapons out of their hands, that they are obstinately resolved to fight Him with. . . . Better is bondage to Enemies, than Liberty in Sinning: Better is it that Israel be Saved and Prosperity lost, than that Prosperity be Saved and Israel lost. . . .
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> [B]ut the Lord shews his tender affections still, and is loth to give us up: We may yet walk round about this S ion, tell her Towers, mark her Bulwarks, and consider her Palaces, which are sufficient to evidence to the Generation following, That this GOD, (who was the Hope of our Fathers) is OUR GOD also. Psal. 48.12, 14. But Men and Sins have multiplied together; and

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[1] John Danforth, The Vile Prophanations of Prosperity By the Degenerate Among the People of God (Boston, 1740), 8-9, 40-41.

> so also Meeting-Houses for the Worship of God, and bitter Contentions about the Seating of 'em, Godly Sermons in them, and ungodly Sleepings, Good Harvests, and bad Revels; Enlarged Tradings, & Excessive Drinkings; Able men, impotent and dirty Party-takings; Hundreds of Children in a Town, & scandalous neglects of them, perhaps not a Tenth of them taught at Schools all the year long: Streets of People, & Bad Houses of Entertainment; & Hundreds bred up in them, but alas! How? Indulgent Parents, and the Idleness and Wickedness of Children; Precious Sabbaths, and notorious Prophanations; Precious Sacraments, & vile neglect of 'em; Precious Prophets, & vile contempts of their Ministry, and defrauding them of their Dues; Precious Heroes and Patriots, and vile Ingratitudes. . . . All these have multiplied together. The more Mony with many, the more sinful vanity and silly Gayety of Apparel; the more Estate, the fewer works of Piety & Charity, & Those that are do come the more hardly off. In thee O New England! there have been Poor that have robbed the Poor; & in thee some Owners have been as Un-neighbourly as their Swine, rooting up the Soil, & breaking down, and burning Fences. . . . (to the intolerable discouragement of good Husbandry & Diligence.) in thee, O New England! are some Provocations to the Almighty, which it is not in thy power to make a Reformation of: But that which cannot be amended, Oh how few mourn for it!

2. Richard Steele, in 1684, published a work for the Christian businessman, entitled, The Religious Trader; or Plain and Serious Hints of Advice for the Trader's prudent and pious Conduct; from his Entrance into Business, to his leaving it off:[2]

> Instead, therefore, of useless speculations, or perplexing controversies in religion, which neither enrich the mind, nor reform the manners of men; I shall endeavour to direct the conscientious Trader in his daily duties, wherein he is surrounded with manifold temptations and difficulties, and stands in need of all the assistance he can obtain from God or man. . . .
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> I. DILIGENCE, as it relates to trade . . . differs not in the religious trader from the same virtue in other men, but as it flows from a better principle, and is directed to an higher end. . . . [The] good man considers himself, whatever may be

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[2] Richard Steele, The Religious Trader; or Plain and Serious Hints of Advice for the trader's prudent and pious Conduct; from his Entrance into Business, to his leaving it off (New York, 1684), vi, 54-59.

his station in life, as the servant of divine Providence; and makes the word of God the rule, and the honour of God the end of his common employments: He is diligent therein from a sense of duty, as well as from the prospect of gain. This virtue is chiefly exercised in the following particulars.

1st, In the serious employment of mind and body, in our callings. Whatever sagacity of mind, depth of judgment, or quickness of invention you are endowed with, should be employed this way. . . .

2d, In employing the substance of our time in our callings. As the servant's time is his master's, so the master's time is God's, and not his own. . . . Hours have wings, and every moment flies up to the Author of time, and carries notice of our usage of it.

3d, In laying hold of opportunities; for diligence includes watchfulness. Great things may sometimes be done in a little time; and opportunities, if embraced, will reward our care and diligence; if they are let slip, may never present themselves again. . . .

4th, In a becoming attention to little things. Many small matters arise in time to something considerable: A small customer attended to and pleased, shews the way to a greater: But the disdaining to get or save things of small value, of often punished by divine Providence, in reducing such pride and carelesness to indigence and want. It is a very just remark of the wise man, "He that contemneth small things, shall fall by little and little." The gifts of the Creator's bounty, abused by one man's folly and vanity, are often transferred to another, who will make a better use of them. . . .

5th, In rejecting those avocations which would divert you from your business. The trader's shop or warehouse should be the place of his delight; from whence he should not wander without some reasonable motive; for here his business and advantage lies. It must be something considerable which will justify a trader's reposing himself at his country-house, or elsewhere, while his affairs and family at home are left at random. Many families have this way been undone; and many servants ruined, by being left masters of their own wills, before they have had prudence to guide them: Consider, Sirs, how is the trust performed to the parents of your apprentices, who, confiding in your personal worth and care, placed their children with you? Nay, how is the trust performed to Almighty God, who by his Providence hath given you the charge over them? . . .

This diligence will guard you against consuming your time and substance at houses of public entertainment. It is not easy to say how far such converse may be permitted; but it is easy to perceive that many traders exceed those bounds which diligence and sobriety, not to say religion, will allow. How many must be sought at the tavern, &c. who should be found in their shops, and are expending that money at places of entertainment, which duty to their families, and justice to others, call for a different account of. . . .

Needless and fruitless visits will be restrained by this diligence. A due performance of these is necessary to friendship and business; but idle, gossipping visits, which are employed in ransacking the affairs or faults of others; judging or condemning those, who, by their absence are incapable of defending themselves; or in censuring the methods of public administration, the reasons and springs of which are entirely unknown to persons in common life. . . .

Lastly, This diligence will restrain all unreasonable devotion. Far be it from me to discourage the exercises of religious worship; our climate is generally, in this respect, cold enough; but there is an indiscreet zeal in some, which causes them to neglect the necessary duties of relative and social life; their families languish for want of their care, and their business for want of their presence; their work is left undone at home, and their debts unpaid abroad, while they are running from sermon to sermon, &c.

II. Let the religious trader be excited to the practice of industry. It conduces much (under the favour of providence) to our temporal prosperity; the diligent are usually blessed with plenty; and no doubt affluence is a blessing, notwithstanding the frequent perversion of it, or else it had never been made the subject of so many divine promises. . . . But whatever our success is, I am sure it is most conducive to our comfort: I dare appeal to every one's experience, whether they find not more inward peace and satisfaction when the day has been diligently employed in their proper callings; than when it has been trifled away in sloth and folly: And it greatens our relishes of the rest and refreshments of life; for the food, as well as "the sleep of the labouring man is sweet."

3. In A Christian at his Calling (1701), Cotton Mather has this to say about a Christian's vocation:[3]

Come, come, For shame, Away to your Business: Lay out your

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[3] Cotton Mather, A Christian at his Calling. two brief Discourses. One Directing A Christian in his General Calling; Another Directing him in his Personal Calling (Boston, 1701), 49-52, 58-59.

Strength in it, put forth your Skill for it; Avoid all impertitent Avocations. Laudable Recreations may be used now and then: But, I beseech you, Let those Recreations be used for Sawce, but not for Meat. If Recreations go to incroach too far upon your Business, give to them that put off. . . .

It may be, there are some, that neglect their Occupation, and squander away one Hour, and perhaps, one Day, after another, Drinking, and Gaming, & Smoking & Fooling at those Drinking Houses, that are so Sinful as to Entertain them. Unto you, O Miserables, I must address a Language like that of our Savious; Thou wicked and slothful person, Reform thy ways, or thou art not far from Outer Darkness. It is nothing to thee, that by much Slothfulness, thy Money, & Credit, and all is Decaying, and by the Idleness of thy Hands, thy House is coming to nothing? Is it nothing to thee, that thou are contracting the character of a Vagabond, and a Prodigal? Dost thou not find the Ale house, to be the very Suburbs of Hell, and dost not thou carry about the Stings and Flames of Hell in thy Conscience, when thou comest home from that Ale house? Our Lord Jesus Christ came to bestow great Blessings on Peter, and Andrew, and James, and John; But where did He find them? Truly, He found them at their Occupation, about their Boats and their Nets. If the Lord Jesus Christ might find thee, in thy Store house, in thy Shop, or in thy Ship, or in thy Field, or where thy Business lies, who knows, what Blessings He might bestow upon thee? But thy Death will ere long find thee; And what? Shall it come upon thee, when thou are profusely at Sports among thy vain Companions? . . .

But ere we pass to another Head of our Discourse, I will take the Leave to suggest one thing, unto many of our pious and worthy Shop Keepers. Many of them have much of Liesure; (& more truly, than I wish they had!) Now, Syrs, What if you should husband your Time of Liesure, to be therein Reading such Books as may be edifying to you, and be much in such Reading as may help to Qualify you, for Good Offices in the places where you Live. . . .

And therefore also, Never, never make any Bargain with such, as you suspect have no just Propriety, in what you go to purchase from them. If you fear, that Stollen Goods are offered you, never touch those Burning Coals, nor incur that Brand, When thou savest a Thief, then thou consentedst with him. Are there also any Manufactures that you are to work up for others? Let them all be Well wrought. Give every Manufacture its due perfection. Cheat no man with any thing, that shall be unserviceable to him. Do nothing Slightly, Do nothing Basely, Do nothing Deceitfully. But I have yet another thing to say: Let a principle of Honesty, cause you carefully to pay the Debts, which in your Business must fall upon you. Run into Debt, as Little as you may, tho' something men commonly must: But being in Debt, be as ready to Get

> out of it, as ever you were to Get into it. Syrs, I must go to Law with you; I'll bring you to the Law; All I mean is only to show you the Law! It is the Law of our Lord Jesus Christ, Rom 13 8. Owe no man any thing, . . . That is to say, Don't carelessly Run into Debt, and then as carelessly Live in it. . . .

4. Samuel Whitman expressed the beliefs of most Puritan ministers in a sermon which he preached on election day, May 13, 1714, before the General Assembly of Connecticut:[4]

> The Scope and Design of the Words, is to recommend Religion to us, as tending to promote the Welfare & Happiness of a People: and to disswade from Sin, Vice and Immorality, as having a contrary tendency. . . .
>
> Good Men will be well Rewarded hereafter for all they do, and suffer in and for Religion. . . . To them who by a Patient Continuance in Well-doing, seek for Glory, Honour and Immortality, He will render Eternal Life. But the next World being no place for National Rewards, God usually indulges Religious Nations with much Outward Prosperity. The way to the Paradise of Temporal Prosperity, lieth thro' the Temple of Vertue. When there is much of Practical Religion among a People, God usually maketh them to Prosper in all that they set their hands to.

B. Politics

1. Samuel Willard was an associate of Thomas Thacher at the Old South Church in Boston. Upon the death of Increase Mather he became superintendent and vice president of Harvard college. He preached the following sermon, The Character of a Good Ruler, in Boston on election day, May 30, 1694:[5]

> Whether the Ordination of Civil Government be an Article of

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[4] Samuel Whitman, Practical Godliness the Way to Prosperity (New London, 1714), 2-3.

[5] Samuel Willard, The Character of a Good Ruler (Boston, 1694), 1-3; 15-17.

the Law of Nature. . . . Or whether it have only a Positive right, and was introduced upon mans Apostasy; is a question about which all are not agreed. The equity of it, to be sure, is founded in the Law natural, and is to be discovered by the light of Nature, being accordingly acknowledged by such as are strangers to Scripture Revelation; and by Christians it is reducible to the first Command in the Second Table of the Decalogue; which is supposed to be a transcript of the Law given to Adam at the first, and written upon the Tables of his Heart. . . . But since the unhappy Fall hath Robbed man of that perfection, and filled his heart with perverse and rebellious principles, tending to the Subversion of all Order and the reducing of the World to a Chaos; necessity requires, and the Political happiness of a People is concerned in the establishment of Civil Government. The want of it hath ever been pernicious, and attended on with miserable Circumstances. . . .

Government is to prevert and cure the disorders that are apt to break forth among the Societies of men; and to promote the civil peace and prosperity of such a people, as well as to suppress impiety, and norish Religion. For this end there are to be both Rulers, and such as are to be Ruled by them: and the Weal or Wo of a People mainly depends on the qualifications of those Rulers, by whom we are to be Governed. . . .

A People are not made for Rulers, But Rulers for a People. It is indeed an Honour which God puts upon some above others, when he takes them from among the People, and sets them up to Rule over them, but it is for the People's sake, and the Civil felicity of them is the next end of Civil Policy; and the happiness of Rulers is bound up with theirs in it. . . .

/It/ lies especially with Rulers, under God, to make a People Happy or Miserable. When man can enjoy their Liberties and Rights without molestation or oppression; when they can live without fear of being born down by their more Potent Neighbours; when they are secured against Violence, and may be Righted against them that offer them an injury, without fraud; and are encouraged to serve God in their own way, with freedom, and and without being imposed upon contrary to the Gospel presepts; now are they an happy People. But this is to be expected from none other but men just and Pious; they that are otherwise, will themselves be oppressours, and they that are influenced by them, and dependent on them, will adde to the grievance. . . . Besides, it is a great Truth, that the Mercies and Judgment of God come upon a people, according as their Rulers carry themselves in managing of the Truth which God hath committed to them. . . .

2. John Wise, minister of the church in Ipswich from 1683 until

his death in 1725, wrote a serious defense of the government of the New England churches (1717):[6]

> I shall disclose several principles of natural knowledge, plainly discovering the law of nature, or the true sentiments of natural reason, with respect to man's being and government. And in this essay I shall peculiarly confine the discourse to two heads, namely:
>
> 1. Of the natural (in distinction from the civil), and then,
> 2. Of the civil being of man. . . .
>
> (1) I shall consider man in a state of natural being, as a free-born subject under the crown of heaven, and owing homage to none but God himself. It is certain civil government in general is a very admirable result of providence, and an incomparable benefit to mankind, yet must needs be acknowledged to be the effect of human free-compacts and not of divine institution; it is the produce of man's reason, of human and rational combinations, and not from any direct orders of infinite wisdom, in any positive law wherein is drawn up this or that scheme of civil government. . . . Nothing can be God's ordinance but what he has particularly declared to be such; there is no particular form of civil government described in God's word, neither does nature prompt it. . . . Government is not formed by nature, as other births or productions; it it were, it would be the same in all countries, because nature keeps the same method in the same thing, in all climates. . . .
>
> The prime immunity in man's state is that he is most properly the subject of the law of nature. He is the favorite animal on earth; in that this part of God's image, namely, reason, is congenate with his nature, wherein by a law immutable, enstamped upon his frame, God has provided a rule for men in all their actions, obliging each one to the performance of that which is right, not only as to justice, but likewise as to all other moral virtues, the which is nothing but the dictate of right reason founded in the soul of man. . . .
>
> The second great immunity of man is an original liberty enstamped upon his rational nature. He that intrudes upon this liberty violates the law of nature. . . . Which liberty may be briefly considered, internally as to his mind, and externally as to his person.

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[6] John Wise, A Vindication of the Government of New England Churches as reprinted in Old South Leaflet No. 165 (The Directors of the Old South Work, Boston, 1906), 281-282; 284-285; 287.

The third capital immunity belonging to man's nature is an equality amongst men, which is not to be denied by the law of nature, till man has resigned himself with all his rights for the sake of a civil state, and then his personal liberty and equality is to be cherished and preserved to the highest degree, as will consist with all just distinctions amongst men of honor, and shall be agreeable with the public good. . . .

The first human subject and original of civil power is the people; for as they have a power every man over himself in a natural state, so upon a combination they can and do bequeath this power unto others, and settle it according as their united discretion shall determine. For that this is very plain, that when the subject of soverign power is quite extinct, that power returns to the people again. And when they are free, they may set up what species of government they please; or, if they rather incline to it, they may subside into a state of natural being, if it be plainly for the best. . . .

SECTION V

PROVIDENCE AND WITCHCRAFT

Although witchcraft had for centuries been a topic of speculation in Europe, it is usually associated in people's minds with the Puritans in Massachusetts. This is due in large measure to popularization by Halloween and Hawthorne. As a matter of fact, the witchcraft trials seemed to create only a small ripple on the surface of Massachusetts history. But if they were not important, historians nevertheless had to confess that these trials formed a "unique" set of circumstances in American history. In the documents which follow you will be examining this phenomenon in relation to the idea of God's providence.

A. Voice From the Pulpit

1. After 36 suspected witches had been tried at Salem by a special court, Cotton Mather wrote a letter on June 31, 1692 to John Richards, one of the seven judges sitting on the special court at Salem:[1]

> Honourable S^{R}.,--I could not have asked you as I now do to Excuse me from waiting upon you, with the utmost of my little skill & care to assist the noble service whereto you are called of God this week, the service of Encountring the Wicked Spirits in the high places of our Air, & of detecting & confounding of their confederates, were it not that I am Langishing under such an overthrow of my health as makes it very dubious that my company may prove more troublesome then serviceable: the least Excesse of travell, or diet, or any thing that may discompose me, would

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[1] Letter form Cotton Mather to John Richards, dated Boston, 31d. 3m. 1692, as published in Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, 4th Series (Wiggin and Lunt, Boston, 1868), VIII, 391-397. (Abbreviations spelled out.)

at this time threaten perhaps my life it selfe, as my friends advise me; & yet I hope before you can get farr into that misterious affair which is now before you, I may with Gods blessing recover so farr as to attend your desires, which to me alwayes are commands. In the meane time, least I should be guilty of any sinfull omission in declining what no good man amongst us can decline, Even to do the best I can for the strengthening of your honourable hands in that worke of God, whereto (I thank him) he hath so well fitted you, as well as called you, I thought it my duty breifly to offer you my poor thoughts on this astonishing occasion.

I. I am not without very lively hopes, that our good God will prosper you in that undertakeing which he hath put you now upon: His people have been fasting & praying before him for your direction: & your selves are persons whose Exemplary devotion disposeth you to such a dependance on the wonderfull Councellor, for his counsell in an affair thus full of Wonder, as he doth usually answer with the most favourable assistances. You will easily pardon me that I do not back my thoughts with confirming Historyes. . . nevertheless, I cannot for once forbeare minding of the famous accidents at Mohra in Swedeland, where a fast was kept among the people of God, because of a stupendious Witchcraft, much like ours, making Havocke of the Kingdom, was immediately [followed] with a remarkable Smile of God upon the endeavours of the Judges to discover & Extirpate the Authors of that Execrable witchcraft. Wherefore be Encouraged.

II. And yet I must most humbly beg you that in the management of the affair in your most worthy hands, you do not lay more stresse upon pure Spectre testimony then it will bear. When you are satisfyed or have good plaine legall Evidence that the Daemons which molest our poore neighbours, do indeed represent such & such people to the sufferers, tho this be a presumption yet I suppose you will not reckon it a conviction that the people so represented are witches to be immediately exterminated. It is very certaine that the civells have sometimes represented the shapes of persons not onely innocent, but also very vertuous. Tho I believe that the just God then ordinarily provides a way for the Speedy vindication of the persons thus abused. Moreover I do suspect that persons who have too much indulged themselves in Malignant, Envious, malicious Ebullitions of their soules, may unhappyly expose themselves to the Judgment of being represented by Divels, of whom they never had any vision, & with whom they have much lesse written any Covenant. . . .

III. Tho tis probable that the Divels may (tho not often, yet sometimes) make most bloody invasions upon our Exterior Concernes, without any Witchcrafts of our fellow Creatures to empower them. . . . Nevertheless there is cause Enough to think that it is a horrible Witchcraft which hath given rise to the troubles wherewith Salem Village is at this day harassed: & the indefatigable paines that are used for the tracing this Witchcraft are to be thankfully accepted, & applauded among all this people of God.

IV. Albeit the buisines of this Witchcraft be very much transacted upon the Stage of Imagination, yet we Know, that, as in treason there is an imagining which is a Capitall Crime. & here also the buisines thus managed in Imagination yet may not be called Imaginary. The Effects are dreadfully reall. Our deare neighbours are most really tormented. Really murdered, & really acquainted with hidden things, which are afterwards proved plainly to have been Realityes. I say then, as that man is justly Executed for an Assassinate, who in the sight of man shall with a sword in his hand stabb his neighbour into the heart, so suppose a long traine layd unto a barrell of Gunpowder under the floor where a neighbour is, & suppose a man with a match perhaps in his mouth, out of sight, set fire unto the further end of the traine, tho never so farr off, this man also is to be treated as equally a malefactor. Our neighbours at Salem Village, are blowne up after a sort, with an infernall gunpowder, the traine is layd in the lawes of the Kingdome of Darknes limitted by God himselfe, now the question is, Who gives fire to this traine? & by what acts is the match applyed? finde out the persons that have done this thing, & be their acts in doing it, either mentall, or orall, or manuall, or what the Divel will. . . .

V. To determine a matter so much in the Darke as to Know the guilty Employers of the Divels in this worke of darknes, this is a worke, this is a labour. Now first a credible Confession of the guilty wretches is one of the most hopefull wayes of coming at them, & I say a credible confession, because even confession it selfe sometimes is not credible. But a person of a Sagacity many times thirty furlongs lesse then yours, will Easily perceive what Confession may be Credible, & what may be the result of onely a delirious brain, or a discontented heart. All the dificulty is, how to obtaine this Confession. For this I am farr from urging the un-English method of torture, but instead thereof I propound these three things, first, Who can tell but when the wtiches come uppon their tryalls, they may be so forsaken, as to confesse all. The Almighty God haveing heard the appeales of our Cryes to Heaven, may so thunder strike their soules, as to make them show their Deeds. Moreover the Divels themselves who aim at the entrapping of their own miserable Clients, may treacherously depart from them in their Examinations. . . . An unexpected confession, is that whereunto Witches are very often driven. . . . what Ever hath a tendancy to put the witches into confusion, is likely to bring them unto Confession too. Here Crosse & Swift Questions have their use, but besides them, for my part, I should not be unwilling, that an Experiment be made whether accused partyes can repeate the Lords prayer, or those other Sistems of christanity, which it seemes, the Divels often make the witches unable to repeate, without ridiculous Depravations or Amputations. The danger of this Experiment will be taken away, if you make no Evidence of it, but onely put it to the use I mention, which is that of confounding the lisping Witches to give a reason why they cannot, Even with prompting, repeat those heavenly Composures. . . .

VI. But what if no confession can be obtained, I say yet the case is far from desperate. For if there have been those words uttered by the witches, Either by way of threatening, or of Asking, or of Braging, which rationally demonstrate such a Knowledge of the wofull circumstances attending the afflicted people, as could not be had, without some Diabolicall Communion, the proofe of such words is Enough to fix the guilt. Moreover I looke upon wounds that have been given unto Spectres, & received by Witches, as intimations broad enough, in concurrence with other things, to bring out the guilty. . . .

Once more, can there be no poppits found out? & here I would say thus much, I am thinking, that some Witches make their owne bodyes to be their Poppets. If therefore you can finde that when the witches do any thing Easy, that is not needfull . . . I say if you find the same thing, presently & hurtfully, & more violently done by any unseen hand, unto the bodyes of the sufferers, hold them, for you have catched a Witch. I adde, why should not Witch-markes be searched for? The propertyes, the qualityes of those markes are described by divers weighty writers. I never saw any of those markes, but it is doubtlesse not impossible for a chirurgion, when he sees them, to say what are magicall. . . .

VII. I begin to fear that the Devils do more easily proselyte poore mortalls into witch craft, than is commonly conceived. When a sinfull child of man distempers himselfe with some Exorbitant motions in his minde (& it is to be feared the murmuring Phrensyes of late prevailing in the country, have this way Exposed many to sore Temptations) a Devil then soon present himself unto him, & he demands are you willing that I should goe doe this or that for you? if the man once comply, the Devil hath him now in a most horrid snare, & by a permission from the just vengence of God he visitts the man with buffettings as well as alurements, till the forlorn man, att first onely for the sake of quietness, but at length out of improved wickednes, will commission the Divell to do mischeife as often as he requires it. . . . /It might be worth considering whether it be necessary to exterminate every wretched creature that is hooked into some degree of witchcraft./

What if some of the lesser Criminalls, be onely scourged with lesser punishments, & also put upon some solemn, open, Publike & Explicitt renunciation of the Divil? I am apt to thinke that the Divels would then cease afflicting the neighbourhood whom these wretches have 'stoo'd (?) them upon, & perhaps they themselves would not suffer some impressions from the Divels, which if they do, they must be willing to bear, til the God that heares prayer deliver them. Or what if the death of some of the offenders were either diverted or inflicted, according to the successe of . . . their renunciation.

But I find my free thoughts, thus freely layd before your Honour, begin to have too much freedome in them. I shall now therefore adde no more, but my humble & most fervent Prayers to the God who gives wisedome liberally, that you & your Honourable Brethren may be furnished from on High, with all that wisdome, as well as Justice, which is requisit in the thorny affair before you. God will be with you. I am perswaded He will: & with that perswasion I subscribe my selfe

Sir Your very devoted Servant,
C. MATHER.

2. After the witch trials were over in September, 1862, Sir William Phipps, who had arrived at Massachusetts Bay with the new charter and his commission as governor of the Colony, instructed Cotton Mather to write an account of what had been accomplished at the trials. The following selection is drawn from Mather's The Wonders of the Invisible World:[2]

We are still so happy, that I suppose there is no Land in the Universe more free from the debauching, and the debasing Vices of Ungodliness. The Body of the People are hitherto so disposed that Swearing, Sabbath-breaking, Whoring, Drunkenness, and the like, do not make a Gentleman, but a Monster, or a Goblin, in the vulgar Estimation. All this notwithstanding, we must humbly confess to our God, that we are miserably degenerated from the first Love of our Predecessors; however we boast our selves a little. . . . The first Planters of these Colonies were a chosen Generation of Men, who were first so pure, as to disrelish many things which they thought wanted Reformation elsewhere; and yet withal so peaceable, that they embraced a voluntary Exile in a squalid, horrid, *American* Desart, rather than to live in Contentions with their Brethren. Those good Men imagined that they should leave their Posterity in a place where they should never see the Inroads of Profanity, or Superstition: And a famous Person returning hence, could in a Sermon before the Parliament profess, *I have now been seven Years in a Country, where I never saw one Man drunk, or heard one Oath sworn, or beheld one Beggar in the Streets all the while*. . . . But, alas, the Children and Servants of those old Planters must needs afford many, degenerate Plants, and there is now risen up a Number of People, otherwise inclined than our *Joshua's*, and the Elders that out-liv'd them. . . .

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[2] Cotton Mather, The Wonders of the Invisible World. Being An Account of the Tryals of Several Witches Lately Executed in New-England (John Russell Smith, London, 1862), 11-13, 74-76.

[The] Ministers of God are accordingly severe in their Testimonies: But in short, those Interests of the Gospel, which were the Errand of our Fathers into these Ends of the Earth, have been too much neglected and postponed, and the Attainments of an handsome Education, have been too much undervalued, by Multitudes that have not fallen into Exorbitances of Wickedness; and some, especially of our young Ones, when they have got abroad from under the Restraints here laid upon them, have become extravagantly and abominably Vicious. Hence 'tis, that the Happiness of *New-England* has been but for a time, as it was foretold, and not for a long time, as has been desir'd for us. A Variety of Calamity has long follow'd this Plantation; and we have all the Reason imaginable to ascribe it unto the Rebuke of Heaven upon us for our manifold *Apostasies*; we make no right use of our Disasters. . . . But yet our Afflictions may come under a further Consideration with us: There is a further Cause of our Afflictions, whose due must be given him.

The *New-Englanders* are a People of God settled in those, which were once the *Devil's* Territories; and it may easily be supposed that the *Devil* was exceedingly disturbed, when he perceived such a People here accomplishing the Promise of old made unto our Blessed Jesus, *That He should have the Utmost parts of the Earth for his Possession*. There was not a greater Uproar among the *Ephesians*, when the Gospel was first brought among them, than there was among, *The Powers of the Air* . . . when first the *Silver Trumpets* of the Gospel here made the *Joyful Sound*. The Devil thus Irritated, immediately try'd all sorts of Methods to overturn this poor Plantation: and so much of the Church, as was *Fled into this Wilderness*, immediately found, *The Serpent cast out of his Mouth a Flood for the carrying of it away*. I believe, that never were more *Satanical Devices* used for the Unsetling of any People under the Sun, than what have been Employ'd for the Extirpation of the *Vine* which God has here *Planted*. . . .

There is a *little room* for hope, that the *great wrath* of the Devil, will not prove the present ruine of our poor *New-England* in particular. I believe, there never was a poor Plantation, more pursued by the *wrath* of the *Devil*, than our poor *New-England*; and that which makes our condition very much the more deplorable is, that the *wrath* of the *great God* Himself, at the same time also presses hard upon us. It was a rousing *alarm* to the Devil, when a great Company of English *Protestants* and *Puritans*, came to erect Evangelical Churches, in a corner of the World, where he had reign'd without any controul for many Ages; and it is a vexing *Eye-sore* to the Devil, that our Lord Christ should be known, and own'd, and preached in this *howling Wilderness*. Wherefor he has left no *Stone unturned*, that so he might undermine his Plantation, and force us out of our Country.

First, The Indian *Powawes*, used all their Sorceries to molest the first Planters here; but God said unto them, *Touch them not*! Then, *Seducing Spirits* came to *root* in this Vineyard but God so rated them off, that they have not prevail'd much farther than the Edges of our Land. After this, we have had a continual *blast* upon some of our principal Grain, annually diminishing a vast part of our *ordinary Food*. Herewithal, wasting *Sicknesses*, especially Burning and Mortal Agues, have Shot the Arrows of Death in at our Windows. Next, we have had many Adversaries of our own Language, who have been perpetually assaying to deprive us of those *English Liberties*, in the encouragement whereof these Territories have been settled. As if this had not been enough; The *Tawnies* among whom we came, have watered our Soil with the Blood of many Hundreds of our Inhabitants. Desolating *Fires* also have many times laid the chief Treasure of the whole Province in Ashes. As for *Losses* by Sea, *they* have been multiply'd upon us: and particularly in the present *French War*, the whole English Nation have observ'd that no part of the Nation has proportionably had so many Vessels taken, as our poor *New-England*. Besides all which, not at last the Devils are (if I may so speak) *in Person* come down upon us with such a *Wrath*, as is justly *much*, and will be quickly be *more*, the Astonishment of the World. Alas, I may sigh over *this* Wilderness, as *Moses* did over *his*, in Psal. 90. 7. 9. *We are consumed by thine Anger, and by thy Wrath we are troubled*: *All our days are passed away in thy Wrath*. And I may add this unto it, *The Wrath of the Devil too has been troubling and spending of us, all our days*.

But what will become of this poor *New-England* after all? Shall we sink, expire, perish, before the *short time* of the Devil shall be finished? I must confess, That when I consider the lamentable *Unfruitfulness* of men, among us, under as powerful and perspicuous Dispensations of the Gospel, as are in the World; and when I consider the declining state of the *Power of Godliness* in our Churches, with the most horrible Indisposition that perhaps ever was, to recover out of this declension; I cannot but *Fear* lest it comes to this, and lest an Asiatic Removal of Candlesticks come upon us. But upon some other Accounts, I would fain hope otherwise; and I will give you therefore the opportunity to try what Inferences may be drawn from these probable Prognostications.

3. Stoughton, the chief justice at the court of Salem, addressed the following letter to Cotton Mather. It was subsequently included in the preface to Mather's The Wonders of the Invisible World published at Boston in October, 1692:[3]

Reverend and Dear Sir,

You very much gratify'd me, as well as put a kind Respect upon me, when you put into my hands your elaborate and most seasonable Discourse, entituled The Wonders of the Invisible World. And having now perused so fruitful and happy a Composure, upon such a Subject, at this Juncture of Time; and considering the place that I hold in the Court of Oyer and Terminer, still labouring and proceeding in the Trial of the Persons accused and convicted for Witchcraft, I find that I am more nearly and highly concerned than as a meer ordinary Reader, to express my Obligation and Thankfulness to you for so great Pains; and cannot but hold myself many ways bound, even to the utmost of what is proper for me, in my present publick Capacity, to declare my singular Approbation thereof. Such is your Design, most plainly expressed throughout the whole; such your Zeal for God, your Enmity to Satan and his Kingdom, your Faithfulness and Compassion to this poor People; such the Vigour, but yet great Temper of your Spirit; such your Instruction and Counsel, your Care of Truth, your Wisdom and Dexterity in allaying and moderating that among us, which needs it; such your clear discerning of Divine Providences and Periods, now running on apace towards their Glorious Issues in the World; and finally, such your good News of The Shortness of the Devil's Time, that all Good Men must needs desire, the making of this your Discourse publick to the World; and will greatly rejoyce, that the Spirit of the Lord has thus enabled you to lift up a Standard against the Infernal Enemy, that hath been coming in like a Flood upon us. I do therefore make it my particular and earnest Request unto you, that as soon as may be, you will commit the same unto the Press accordingly. I am,

Your assured Friend,
WILLIAM STOUGHTON.

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[3] Ibid., 6-7.

B. The Ordeal of Elizabeth How

1. Cotton Mather in The Wonders of the Invisible World records the trial of an accused witch:[4]

THE TRYAL OF ELIZABETH HOW, AT THE
Court of Oyer and Terminer,[5] Held
by Adjournment at Salem,
June 30, 1692.

I.

Elizabeth How pleading Not Guilty to the Indictment of Witchcrafts, then charged upon her; the Court according to the usual Proceedings of the Courts in England, in such Cases, began with hearing the Depositions of several afflicted People, who were grievously tortured by sensible and evident Witchcrafts, and all complained of the Prisoner, as the cause of their Trouble. It was also found that the Sufferers were not able to bear her Look, as likewise, that in their greatest Swoons, they distinguished her Touch from other Peoples, being thereby raised out of them.

And there was other Testimony of People to whom the shape of this How, gave trouble nine or ten years ago.

II. It has been a most usual thing for the bewitched Persons, at the same time that the Spectres representing the Witches, troubled them, to be visited with Apparitions of Ghosts, pretending to have been Murdered by the Witches then represented. And sometimes the Confessions of the Witches afterwards acknowledged those very Murders, which these Apparitions charged upon them; altho' they had never heard what Informations had been given by the Sufferers.

There were such Apparitions of Ghosts testified by some of the present Sufferers; and the Ghosts affirmed, that this How had murdered them: Which things were fear'd but not prov'd.

III. This How had made some Attempts of joyning to the Church at Ipswich, several years ago; but she was denyed an admission into that Holy Society, partly through a suspicion of

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[4] Ibid., 149-154.

[5] Legally, "to hear and determine."

Witchcraft, then urged against her. And there now came in Testimony, of preternatural Mischiefs, presently befalling some that had been Instrumental to debar her from the Communion whereupon she was intruding.

IV. There was a particular Deposition of *Joseph Stafford*, That his Wife had conceived an extream Aversion to this *How*, on the Reports of her Witchcrafts: But *How* one day, taking her by the Hand, and saying, *I believe you are not ignorant of the great Scandal that I lye under, by an evil Report raised upon me*. She immediately, unreasonably and unperswadeably, even like one Enchanted, began to take this Woman's part. *How* being soon after propounded, as desiring an Admission to the Table of the Lord, some of the pious Brethren were unsatisfy'd about her. The Elders appointed a Meeting to hear Matters objected against her; and no Arguments in the World could hinder this Goodwife *Stafford* from going to the Lecture. She did indeed promise, with much ado, that she would not go to the Church-meeting, yet she could not refrain going thither also. *How's* Affairs there were so canvased, that she came off rather *Guilty* than *Cleared*; nevertheless Goodwife *Stafford* could not forbear taking her by the Hand, and saying, *Tho' you are Condemned before Men, you are Justify'd before God*. She was quickly taken in a very strange manner, Ranting, Raving, Raging, and crying out, *Goody* How *must come into the Church; she is a precious Saint; and tho' she be condemned before Men, she is Justify'd before God*. So she continued for the space of two or three Hours; and then fell into a Trance. But coming to her self, she cry'd out, *Ha! I was mistaken*; and afterwards again repeated, *Ha! I was mistaken!* Being asked by a stander by, *Wherein?* she replyed, *I thought Goody* How *had been a precious Saint of God, but now I see she is a Witch: She has bewitched me, and my Child, and we shall never be well, till there be a Testimony for her, that she may be taken into the Church*. And *How* said afterwards, that she was very sorry to see *Stafford* at the Church-meeting mentioned. *Stafford*, after this, declared herself to be afflicted by the Shape of *How*; and from that Shape she endured many Miseries.

V. *John How*, Brother to the Husband of the Prisoner, testified, that he refusing to accompany the Prisoner unto her Examination, as was by her desired, immediately some of his Cattle were Bewtiched to Death, leaping three or four foot high, turning about, speaking, falling, and dying at once; and going to cut of an Ear, for an use, that might as well perhaps have been omitted, the Hand wherein he held his Knife was taken very numb, and so it remained, and full of Pain, for several Days, being not well at this very Time. And he suspected the Prisoner for the Author of it.

VI. *Nehemiah Abbot* testify'd, that unusual and mischievous

Accidents would befal his Cattle, whenever he had any Difference with this Prisoner. Once, particularly, she wished his Ox choaked; and within a little while that Ox was choaked with a Turnep in his Throat. At another Time, refusing to lend his Horse, at the Request of her Daughter, the Horse was in a preternatural manner abused. And several other odd things of that kind were testified.

VII. There came in Testimony, that one Good-wife *Sherwin*, upon some Difference with *How*, was bewitched; and that she dyed, charging this *How* with having an Hand in her Death. And that other People had their Barrels of Drink unaccountably mischieved, spoil'd and split, upon their displeasing of her.

The things in themselves were trivial, but there being such a Course of them, it made them the more considered. Among others, *Martha Wood*, gave her Testimony, That a little after her Father had been employed in gathering an account of *How's* Conversation, they once and again lost great quantities of Drink out of their Vessels, in such a manner, as they could ascribe to nothing but Witchcraft. As also, That *How* giving her some Apples, when she had eaten of them she was taken with a very strange kind of Amaze, insomuch that she knew not what she said or did.

VIII. There was likewise a Cluster of Depositions, That one *Isaac Cummings* refusing to lend his Mare unto the husband of this *How*, the Mare was within a day or two taken in a strange condition: The Beast seemed much abused, being bruised as if she had been running over the Rocks, and marked where the Bridle went, as if burnt with a red hot Bridle. Moreover, one using a Pipe of Tobacco for the Cure of the Beast, a blue Flame issued out of her, took hold of her Hair, and not only spread and burnt on her, but it also flew upwards towards the Roof of the Barn, and had like to have set the Barn on Fire: And the Mare dyed very suddently.

IX. *Timothy Pearley* and his Wife, testify'd, Not only unaccountable Mischiefs befel their Cattle, upon their having of Differences with this Prisoner: but also that they had a Daughter destroyed by Witchcrafts; which Daughter still charged *How* as the Cause of her Affliction. And it was noted, that she would be struck down whenever *How* were spoken of. She was often endeavoured to be thrown into the Fire, and into the Water, in her strange Fits: Tho' her Father had corrected her for charging *How* with bewitching her, yet (as was testified by others also) she said, She was sure of it, and must dye standing to it. Accordingly she charged *How* to the very Death: and said, *Tho' How could afflict and torment her Body, yet she could not hurt her Soul*; And, *That the Truth of this matter would appear, when she would be dead and gone*.

X. Francis Lane testified, That being hired by the Husband of this How to get him a parcel of Posts and Rails, this Lane hired John Pearly to assist him. This Prisoner then told Lane, That she believed the Posts and Rails would not do, because John Pearly helped him: but that if he had got them alone, without John Pearly's help, they might have done well enough. When James How came to receive his Posts and Rails of Lane, How taking them up by the Ends, they, tho' good and sound, yet unaccountably broke off, so that Lane was forced to get thirty or forty more. And this Prisoner being informed of it, she said, She told him so before, because Pearly helped about them.

XI. Afterwards there came in the Confessions of several other (penitent) Witches, which affirmed this How to be one of those, who with them had been baptized by the Devil in the River, at Newbury-Falls: before which he made them there kneel down by the Brink of the River and worshiped him.

2. From a copy of the original records of the trials comes this report of the examination of Elizabeth How:[6]

Mercy Lewis and Mary Walcot fell in a fit quickly after the examinant came in.

Mary Walcot said that this woman the examinant had pinched her and choakt this month. Ann Putman said she had hurt her three times. What say you to this charge? Here are them that charge you with witchcraft.

If it was the last moment I was to live, God knows I am innocent of any thing in this nature.

Did not you take notice that now when you lookt upon Mercy Lewis she was struck down?

I cannot help it.

You are charged here, what doe you say?

I am innocent of any thing of this nature.

Is this the first time that ever you were accused?

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[6] W. Elliot Woodward (ed.) Records of Salem Witchcraft, Copied From the Original Documents (Privately Printed for the Author, Roxbury, Mass., 1865), II, 70-71. (Abbreviations spelled out.)

Yes Sir.

Do not you know that one at Ipswich hath accused you?

This is the first time that ever I heard of it.

You say that you never heard of these folks before.

Mercy Lewis at length spake and charged this woman with hurting and pinching her. And then Abigail Williams cryed she had hurt me a great many times, a great while and she hath brought me the book, Ann Putman had a pin stuck in her hand.

What do you say to this?

I cannot help it.

What consent have you given?

Mary Warren cryed out she was prickt

Abig Williams cryed out that she was pincht, and great prints were seen in her arm.

Have not you seen some apparition?

No, never in all my life.

Those that have confessed, they tell us they used images and pins, now tell us what you haue used.

You would not have me confess that which I know not.

She lookt upon Mary Warren, and said Warren violently fell down. Look upon this maid viz: Mary Walcot, her back being towards the Examinant, Mary Warren and Ann Putman said they saw this woman upon her, Susan Sheldon saith this was the woman that carryed her yesterday to the Pond, Sus. Sheldon carried to the examinant in a fit and was well upon grasping her arm.

You said you never heard before of these people.

Not before the warrant was served upon me last Sabbath day, John Indian cryed out O she bites, and fell into a grevious fit; and so carried to her in his fit and was well upon her grasping him,

What do you say to these things, they can not come to you?

Sir I am not able to give account of it.

Cannot you tell what keeps them off from your body?

I cannot tell, I know not what it is?

That is strange that you should do these things and not be able to tell how.

This a true account of the examination of Eliz: How taken from my characters written at the time thereof. Witness my hand

Sam. Parris.

3. Samuel Phillips and Edward Paison (Payson), both ministers in Rowly, visited the Pearly family in Ipswich to determine for themselves the guilt of the accused. The following selection is Phillips' testimony at Elizabeth How's trial:[7]

Samuel Phillips for Elizabeth How.

The testimony of Samuel Phillips aged about 67, minister of the word of God in Rowly, who sayth, that mr payson (minister of gods word alsoe in Rowley) and myself went, being desired to Samuel pearly of ipswich to se theire young daughter who was viseted with strang fitts and in her fitts (as her father and mother affirmed) did mention good wife How the wife of James How Junior of Ipswich, as if she was in the house and did afflict her: when we were in the house the child had one of her fitts but made noe mention of goodwife how: and when the fitt was over and she came to herself, goodwife how, went to the child and took her by the hand and askt her whether she had ever done her any hurt And she answered noe never and if I did complain of you in my fitts I knew not, that I did soe: I further can affirm upon oath that young Samuel Pearly, Brother to the afflicted girle looking out of a chamber window (I and the afflicted child being without dores together) and sayd to his sister say goodwife How is a witch, say she is a witch, and the child spake not a word that way, but I lookt up to the window where the youth stood and rebuked him for his boldness to stir up his sister to accuse the said goodw: How when as she had cleared her from doing any hurt to his sister in both our hearing, and I added no wonder that the child in her fitts did mention Goodwife How, when her

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[7] *Ibid*., 76-77.

> nearest relations were soe frequent in expressing their suspitions in the childs hearing when she was out of her fitts that the sayd Goodwife How, was an Instrument of mischief to the child.
>
> Rowley 3 June 1692. Samuel Phillips.

C. *The Aftermath*

1. Cotton Mather, in *The Wonders of the Invisible World*, summarizes the results of the witch trials:[8]

> Nineteen Witches have been Executed at *New-England*,[9] one of them was a Minister, and two Ministers more are Accus'd. There is a hundred Witches more in Prison, which broke Prison, and about two Hundred more are Accus'd, some Men of great Estates in *Boston*, have been accus'd for *Witchcraft*. Those Hundred now in Prison accus'd for Witches, were Committed by fifty of themselves being *Witches*, some of *Boston*, but most about *Salem*, and the Towns Adjacent. . . .

2. After 1693, Samuel Parris, who was minister of the church at Salem during the witch trials, spent the remainder of his life as a pastor in Stowe, Vermont and later in Concord, Massachusetts. From the records of the church at Salem comes Parris' own experiences during and after the trials:[10]

> This church was formed the 19th of November, 1689.
>
> 27 March, Sav. 169½. Sacrament day.--After the common auditory was dismissed, and before the church communion at the Lord's Table, the following testimony against the error of our sister, Mary Sibly, who had given direction to my Indian man in an unwarrantable way to find out witches, was read by the Pastor. It

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[8] Cotton Mather, *The Wonders of the Invisible World*, 172.

[9] The total executed was actually 20. Nineteen were hanged and Giles Cory was pressed to death for standing mute at his trial.

[10] Samuel Parris, "Extracts From the Records of the Church at Salem," as published in *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, 3d. Series (E. W. Metcalf, Cambridge, 1833), III, 169.

is altogether undeniable, that our great and blessed God, for wise and holy ends, hath suffered many persons in several families of this village, to be grievously vexed and tortured in body, and to be deeply tempted to the endangering of the destruction of their souls, and all these amazing feats (well known to many of us) to be done by witchcraft and diabolical operations. It is also well known, that when these calamities first began, which was in my own family, the affliction was several weeks before such hellish operations, as witchcraft, were suspected. Nay, it never brake forth to any considerable light until diabolical means was used . . . by my Indian man, who had his direction from this our sister, Mary Sibly; since which apparitions have been plenty, and exceeding much mischief hath followed. But by this means (it seems) the Devil hath raised amongst us, and his rage is vehement and terrible, and when he shall be silenced, the Lord only knows. . . . Nevertheless, I do truly hope and believe, that this our sister doth truly fear the Lord, and am well satisfied from her, that what she did, she did it ignorantly. . . . Yet we are in duty bound to protest against such actions . . . and therefore, call this our sister to deep humiliation for what she has done, and all of us to be watchful against Satan's wiles and devices. Therefore, as we in duty, as a church of Christ, are deeply bound to protest against it, as most directly contrary to the Gospel, yet inasmuch, as this our sister did it in ignorance, as she professeth, and we believe, we can continue her in our holy fellowship upon her serious promise of future better advisedness and caution, and acknowledging, that she is indeed sorrowful for her rashness herein. Brethren, if this be your mind, that this inquity be thus borne witness against, manifest it by your usual sign of lifting up your hands --The brethren voted generally. None made any exceptions.

Sister Sibly, if you are convinced, that you herein did sinfully, and are sorry for it, let us hear it from your mouth. She did manifest to satisfaction her error and grief for it. Brethren, if herein you have received satisfaction, testify by lifting up your hands. A general vote passed. No exception made.
. . .

Sabbath-day, 14th Aug. 1692. The church was stayed after the congregation was dismissed, and the Pastor spoke to the church after this manner.--Brethren, you all have taken notice, that several Sacrament days past, our brother, Peter Cloyes, and Sam. Nurse and his wife, and John Tarbell and his wife, have absented /themselves/ from Communion with us at the Lord's Table, yea, have very rarely, except our brother Samuel Nurse, been with us in common public worship; now it is needful, that the church send some persons to them, to know the reason of their absence.

Therefore, if you be so minded, express yourselves--None objected; but a general or universal vote, after some discourse, passed, that Bro. Nathaniel Putman and the two Deacons should join with the Pastor to discourse with the said absenters about it.

31st August. Bro. Tarbell proves sick, unfit for discourse. Bro. Cloyes hard to be found at home being often with his wife in prison, at Ipswich for witchcraft, and Bro. Nurse and sometimes his wife attend our public meeting, and he the Sacrament. . . .

11th September, Lord's day. Sister Martha Kory, taken into the church 27th April 1690, was after examination upon suspicion of witchcraft, 21st March 169$\frac{1}{2}$ committed to prison for that fact, and was condemned to the gallows for the same yesterday; and was this day in public, by a general consent, voted to be excommunicated out of the church. . . .

The 7th February last, before the brethren appointed by the church, came, the abovesaid three brethren, John Tarbell, Samuel Nurse, and Thomas Wilkins, came to my house, desiring speech with me; so I took them singly into my study. . . . John Tarbell said, he thought I was guilty of Idolatry, in asking the *afflicted persons*, whom they saw on other *afflicted persons*. He thought it was going to the God of Ekron. Nor did he understand how my oath was safe in court, that such and such, by such and such, were knocked down by their looks, and raised up by their touches.

And had it not been for me, his mother Nurse might have been still living, and freed from execution; that I had been the great prosecutor, and that others, wise and learned, who had been as forward as myself, had been sorry for what they had done, and saw their error, and until I did so, he could not join. His brother, Samuel Nurse, for about an hour's time, had the same objections. I answered them, I did not see yet sufficient grounds to vary my opinion, which was confirmed by known and ancient experience, frequent in such cases, &c. But, however, in matters of debate they must give me my opinion, as I would not quarrel with them for theirs, &c.

The 8th February, Brother Peter Cloyes came from Boston to me, with the very same objections, whom I answered after the like manner. Some short time after this, the abovesaid four displeased brethren came again desiring to speak with me, and Bro. William Way along with them. . . .

27th March, 169$\frac{2}{3}$. At night Bro. Cloyes, and Bro. Tarbell abovesaid, came to my house together with Mr. Joseph Hutchinson, Sen., and Mr. Joseph Putman, and a little after, William Osburn of Salem, (which three last, it seems, came for witnesses, as Bro. Cloyes owned the 20th April following) and they gave me a paper, not subscribed by any person, but a cut in the place of subscription, where two or three names might be written.

The contents of the paper were as follows, viz.--The paper had no date neither.--To our pastor and minister, Mr. Samuel Parris of Salem Village, and to some others of the Plantation. We whose names are underwritten, being deeply sensible, that those uncomfortable differences that are amongst us, are very dishonourable to God and a scandal to religion, and very uncomfortable to ourselves, and an ill example to those, who may come after us. And by our maintaining and upholding differences amongst us, we do but gratify the Devil, the grand adversary to our souls. For the removal of which, we have thought meet to proffer our present thoughts to your serious consideration, hoping, that there may be such methods propounded as may be for the settling and confirming peace and unity amongst us, both at the present and for the future. And our desires are, that such a foundation may be laid for peace and truth; that the gates of hell may not prevail against it. And, in order thereunto, Solomon adviseth to counsel. And our desires are, that a council of elders may be mutually chosen to hear all our grievances between Mr. Parris and us, and to determine where the blameable cause is. And we hope, that their wisdom and prudence may direct us to such a method, as may be for our comfort for both present and future. When I had read it, I asked them, whom this paper came from. They answered, all the plantation, or a great many of them at least. I demanded, why then did none subscribe it. They said, all in good time.

So I put it up in my pocket. They demanded an answer to it. I told them, I would consider of it.

28th March 1693. The abovesaid brethren, together with the said Hutchinson, came again at night for an answer to the abovesaid paper. I told them, I had not considered of it yet.

14th April 1693. Our displeased brethren John Tarbell, Samuel Nurse, and Thomas Wilkins, came again, bringing with them said Hutchinson and Francis Nurse. After a little while, I went down from my study to them, asking them if they would speak with me. They said, yes, they came to discourse about the paper (abovesaid), they had brought to me. I told them, I had no time to talk, I was this day to preach to a private meeting. Nor was I willing to discourse with them alone; but appoint time and place, and I would meet with them. So we agreed, after our next lecture, to meet at Bro. Nathaniel Putman's.

20th April. After lecture, myself, Captain Putman, Ensign Flint, and the two Deacons, met the four displeased brethren abovesaid at Lieut. Nathaniel Putman's abovesaid, where we found together with them and for them, said Mr. Hutchinson and Mr. Israel Porter. After a little while, I told them, to gratify them, I was come to hear what they had to offer. They demanded an answer to the paper abovesaid. Whereupon I pluckt it out of my pocket, and read it openly. They owned that to be the paper. I asked them what they called it; they being to seek a name for it. I told them, I looked upon it as a libel. They then produced a like paper, subscribed by said brethren and divers more, to the number of forty and two names; but all seemed to be one and the same hand. I desired the original paper. They said, they knew not where it was. Then it was asked, whether those men wrote their own names. It was answered, yes, or they were written by their order. Then I desired them to subscribe this paper with their hands to it, testifying that no name was there, but such as had consented thereto, But none would yield to this. . . . The four displeased brethren agreed to meet me tomorrow morning about an hour after sunrise, with the two Deacons, and Bro. William Way, and Bro. Aaron Way, to discourse the matter, to which I readily assented.

21st April 1693. This morning, we met as above-said at Deacon Ingersoll's. After a little while, I began with prayer. Then brother Nurse read a large scroll of about fifteen articles, as reasons why they withdrew communion from us. Seven of them, I think, were reasons of absenting from public worship with us, and the other eight, I think, causes of separation from my ministry. I desired to see them, but was denied for a great while. At length, I had liberty to read them myself, upon the promise of returning them to them. After all, I demanded them, or a copy of them. . . . But the dissenters said, no. They had told me, and that was enough; and they desired me to call the church, and then I should have all. . . .

Sab. 30th April 1693. A church meeting was proposed. 18th May. It was held. The displeased brethren appeared with their complaints; but it was voted, that they had proceeded disorderly; and that the church would hear these brethren, if they would bring their charges in an orderly manner.

13th October 1693. I received a letter from the Rev. Mr. John Higginson, directed to myself and brethren of this church. The sum whereof was, to advise us to join the complainants in calling a council of neighbouring churches, not excepting against any one on either side. . . .

19th October 1693. Church met, and agreed to have a mutual council.

23d October 1693. A letter was sent to the Rev. Messrs. Higginson, Noyes, and Hale, stating that the church had agreed to a council. It was signed by Rev. S. Parris, with consent of the brethren of the church.

3. Samuel Sewall's Diary, January 14, 1697:[11]

Copy of the Bill I put up on the Fast day; giving it to Mr. Willard as he pass'd by, and standing up at the reading of it, and bowing when finished; in the Afternoon.

Samuel Sewall, sensible of the reiterated strokes of God upon himself and family; and being sensible, that as to the Guilt contracted upon the opening of the late Commission of Oyer and Terminer at Salem (to which the order for this Day relates) he is, upon many accounts, more concerned than any that he knows of, Desires to take the Blame and shame of it, Asking pardon of men, And especially desiring prayers that God, who has an Unlimited Authority, would pardon that sin and all other his sins; personal and Relative: And according to his infinite Benignity, and Sovereignty, Not Visit the sin of him, or of any other, upon himself or any of his, nor upon the Land: But that He would powerfully defend him against all Temptations to Sin, for the future; and vouchsafe him the efficacious, saving Conduct of his Word and Spirit.

4. John Hale, minister of the church in Beverly, Massachusstts and a strong supporter of the witch trials until his own wife was accused, published A Modest Inquiry into the Nature of Witchcraft in Boston, 1702:[12]

I have been present at several examinations and trials, and knew sundry of those that suffered upon that account in former years, and in this last affair, and so have more advantages than a stranger, to give account of these proceedings. I have been from my youth, trained up in the knowledge and belief of most of those principles, I here question, as unsafe to be used. The first person[13] that suffered on this account in New England, about fifty years since, was my neighbor, and I heard much of what was charged upon her, and others in those times; and the reverence I bore to aged, learned and judicious persons, caused me to drink

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[11] Samuel Sewall, Diary, 445.

[12] John Hale, A Modest Inquiry into the Nature of Witchcraft (Boston, 1702), preface; as reprinted in "Memoir of Rev. John Hale," Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, 3d. Series (Charles C. Little and James Brown, 1838), VII, 263-264.

[13] Margaret Jones of Charlestown, executed, 1648.

> in their principles in these things, with a kind of implicit faith. But observing the events of that sad catastrophe in the year 1692, I was brought to a more strict scanning of the principles I had imbibed, and by *scanning* to *question*, and by *questioning* at length to *reject* many of them, upon the reasons shewed in the ensuing discourse. No truth is more certain to a man, than that which he had formerly doubted or denied, and is recovered from his error, by the convincing evidence of scripture and reason. I have had a deep sense of the sad consequences of mistakes, in matters capital; and their impossibility of recovering when compleated; and what grief of heart it brings to a tender conscience, to have been unwittingly encouraging of the sufferings of the innocent. And I hope, a zeal to prevent for the future such sufferings, is pardonable, although there should be much weakness, and some errors in the pursuit thereof.

5. In the *Magnalia Christi Americana* Cotton Mather published the following request from the Fellows and President of Harvard College:[14]

> 1. To *regard* the illustrious displays of that PROVIDENCE, wherewith our Lord Christ governs the world, is a work, than which there is none more *needful*, or *useful*, for a *Christian*: to *record* them is a work, than which, none more proper for a *minister*: and perhaps the great governour of the world will ordinarily do the most *notable* things for those who are most ready to take a wise notice of what he does. Unaccountable therefore and inexcusable, is the *sleepiness*, even upon the most of good men throughout the world, which indisposes them to *observe* and much more to preserve the *remarkable dispensations* of Divine *Providence*, towards themselves or others. Nevertheless there have been raised up now and then those persons who have rendered themselves worthy of *everlasting remembrance*, by their *wakeful zeal* to have the *memorable providences* of God remembered through all generations. . . .
>
> Certain proposals made by the President and Fellows of Harvard College, to the Reverend Ministers of the Gospel in the several churches of New-England.
>
> I
>
> To observe and record the more illustrious discoveries of the

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[14] Cotton Mather, *Magnalia Christi Americana*, 293-294.

divine *Providence*, in the government of the world, is a design so holy, so useful, so justly approved, that the too general neglect of it in the churches of God, is as justly to be lamented.

II.

For the redress of that neglect, although all *Christians* have a duty incumbent on them, yet it is in a peculiar manner to be recommended unto the *ministers* of the *gospel*, to improve the special advantages which are in their hands, to obtain and preserve the knowledge of such notable occurrents, as are *sought out by all that have pleasure in the great works of the Lord*.

III.

The things to be esteemed *memorable*, are especially all *unusual accidents*, in the *Heaven* or *earth*, or *water*: all wonderful *deliverances* of the distressed: *mercies* to the godly! *judgments* on the wicked; and more glorious fulfilments of either the *promises* or the *threatnings*, in the *scriptures* of *truth*; with *apparitions*, *possessions*, *inchantments*, and all extraordinary things wherein the existence and agency of the *invisible world*, is more sensibly demonstrated.

IV.

It is therefore proposed, that the *ministers* throughout this land would manifest their pious regards *unto the works of the Lord, and the operation of his hands*, by reviving their cares to take written accounts of such *remarkables*; but still well attested with credible and sufficient *witnesses*.

V.

It is desired, that the accounts thus taken of these *remarkables*, may be sent in, unto the PRESIDENT, or the FELLOWS of the college; by whom they shall be carefully reserved for such an use to be made of them, as may be som fit assembly of *ministers*, be judged most conducing to the glory of God, and the service of his people.

VI.

Tho' we doubt not, that, *love to the name* of GOD, will be motive enough unto all good men, to contribute what assistance they can, unto this undertaking; yet for further encouragement, some singular *marks* of *respect*, shall be studied for such good men as will actually assist it by taking pains to communicate any important passages proper to be inserted in this collection.

Increase Mather, President
James Allen,)
Charles Morton,)
Samuel Willard,)
Cotton Mather,) Fellows.
John Leverett,)
William Brattle)
Nehem. Walter.)

Cambridge,
March 5, 1693-4.

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER READING

There are three readily available and highly readable collections of sources pertaining to the Puritans in Massachusetts Bay: Edmund S. Morgan (ed.), *The Founding of Massachusetts: Historians and the Sources* (Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., New York, 1964)*; Perry Miller (ed.), *The American Puritans, Their Prose and Poetry* (Doubleday Anchor Books, Garden City, 1956)*; and the extensive two volume collection edited by Perry Miller and Thomas H. Johnson, *The Puritans: A Sourcebook of their Writings* (Harper Torchbook, New York, 1963)*.

Those students who are interested in more specialized topics in Puritan history might refer to Edmund S. Morgan, *The Puritan Family* (Harper Torchbook, New York, 1966)* and the Pulitzer Prize winning book by Sumner Chilton Powell, *Puritan Village: The Formation of New England Town* (Anchor Books, Doubleday, Garden City, 1965)*. Bernard Bailyn has writted a superb book on one facet of New England's economic life: *The New England Merchants in the Seventeenth Century* (Harper Torchbooks, New York, 1964)*. The witchcraft trials are reconstructed historically in a most enjoyable book by Marion L. Starkey called *The Devil in Massachusetts: A Modern Enquiry into the Salem Witch Trials* (Dolphin Books, Garden City, 1961)*.

Biographies of many of the Puritan leaders are available in paperback. Among the best of these are: Perry Miller, *Roger Williams: His Contribution to the American Tradition* (Atheneum, New York, 1962)*; Samuel Eliot Morison, Builders of the Bay Colony (Sentry, Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, 1958)*; Edmund S. Morgan, The Puritan Dilemma: The Story of John Winthrop (Little, Brown and Company, Boston, 1958)*.

There is an abundance of serious scholarly interpretative material which can be obtained in paperback editions: Edmund S. Morgan, Visible Saints: The History of a Puritan Idea (Cornell University Press, Ithaca, 1963)*; Alan Simpson's entertaining book, Puritanism in Old and New England (University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1964)*; Daniel J. Boorstin, The Americans: The Colonial Experience (Vantage Books, Random House, New York, 1964)*; and Perry Miller, Errand Into the Wilderness (Harper Torchbooks, New York, 1964)*. When all is said and done, however, the most complete and profound interpretation of American Puritanism is the definitive 2 volume work by Perry Miller, The New England Mind: The Seventeenth Century, Vol. I, and The New England Mind: From Colony to Province, Vol. II (Beacon Press, Boston, 1961).*

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*Available in paperback edition.